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FBIS-EEU-94-186 *26 September 1994*

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NOTICE TO READERS: Effective 1 October, the processing indicators appearing in brackets at the start of each item in this publication will be changed. All new indicators will begin with "FBIS" to make the material more easily identifiable in databases. Some will also indicate whether the item has been translated from the vernacular or transcribed from English.

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Greek Embassy Refuses Visa to Ministry Official

AU2409205194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] At the invitation of the Defense Ministry of the United Kingdom and [words indistinct] a NATO group, a high-ranking military official of the Albanian Defense Ministry was to take part in a meeting and training program that was held in (?Tsalkita) in Greece from 20-23 September. Our Defense Ministry representative could not attend this activity as the Greek Embassy in Tirana did not issue the relevant visa to him, without giving any explanation, although he presented the necessary documentation on time.

Proceeding from this inappropriate act by the Greek Embassy, the Defense Ministry addressed a note to the embassy on 20 September, in which it asked for an explanation as to why the visa was not issued. The Defense Ministry has received no answer thus far.

Returning Emigrants Describe Greek Torture Camp

AU2609102194 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 22 Sep 94 p 1

[Report by Blendi Kasmi: "Torture Camp for Albanian Emigrants in Corfu"]

[Text] The number of refugees forcibly deported by the Greek police has reached the stupendous figure of 70,000. Many of them have been subjected to violence and torture by the police, even though their papers were in order.

Out of the many statements by various emigrants immediately on arrival at the border checkpoints, the most shocking are those describing a special camp for maltreating and beating refugees.

Is it possible that Greece, a member of the European Community, might allow the creation of such camps, reminiscent of the Nazi camps? The facts show that it is a reality.

Kujtim Caushi from Permet is one of those emigrants who have endured the cruellest beatings in the notorious camp at Kostur. He speaks of the most inhuman torture against emigrants in this camp and to which he was also subjected. "This camp used to be for political refugees, who were well treated. Now, however, all you can see are emigrants covered in blood, and they are not political refugees," says Kujtim.

"They kept us without water for days on end, took off our clothes and then beat us with truncheons. They plunged a bottle into the mouth of a friend of ours and then hit the bottle, breaking his teeth," Kujtim goes on. After several days in this camp, these emigrants were released and warned not to tell anybody what happened to them there.

These acts by the Greek police and Army are a flagrant violation of the Helsinki Charter and the Charter of Human Rights. The various international bodies monitoring human rights and freedoms should go and see these camps, which are located, however strange it may seem, in Greece.

Appeals Court Reduces Alia's Sentence to 8 Years

AU2409205494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] The Appeals Court today passed the verdict against 10 defendants, former high-ranking functionaries of the Communist regime, charged with abuse of position in conspiring to violate the people's equality and human rights and freedoms. Arben Muka reports:

[Muka] In today's verdict, court chairman Bashkim Cami, who during the appeal trial was supported by two assistant judges Ariana Fullani and Tom Ndrecaj, generally held the same opinion as the Tirana Court verdict. He declared the 10 defendants guilty, classifying them according to their illegal activity under charges of abuse of position in conspiring to violate the people's equality and human rights and freedoms.

First, after reading out the Tirana Court verdict and repeating again the claims and complaints against this verdict put forward by the defendants and their attorneys, Judge Cami mentioned several things that the Appeals Court had observed while the case in question was being examined.

Considering the stances of both sides in the investigation:

[Begin Cami recording] The Appeals Court, based on Article 4,004 of Law No. 7,574, dated 24 June 1980, on the organization of Justice bodies, decided:

1. To leave in effect the Tirana Court Verdict No. 505, dated 2 July 1994, on defendants Adil Carcani, Manush Myftiu, Hekuran Isai, Simon Stefani, Rrapi Mino, Zylyftar Ramizi, and Veiz Haderi.

2. To leave in effect Tirana Court Verdict No. 505, dated 2 July 1994, regarding the guilt and legal qualification of the crime committed by defendant Ramiz Alia and the measure anticipated for the indictment, defined by Laws 106 and 13 of the Penal Code, and regarding the crime of violating the citizens' equality, to change this verdict from five to two years imprisonment.

Finally, by merging the verdicts, based on Article 35 of the Penal Code, the court convicts defendant Ramiz Alia with one sole verdict of eight years imprisonment.

3. To leave in effect Tirana Court Verdict No. 505, dated 2 July 1994, regarding the guilt and legal qualification of the crime committed by defendant Rita Marko and the

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measure anticipated for the indictment, defined by Articles 107 and 13 of the Penal Code, and to change this verdict regarding the crime of abusing the position in conspiring to violate the basic human rights and freedoms of the people, and on the basis of Articles 106 and 13, 31/B, and 31/D, the court decided to change the verdict from seven to six years imprisonment.

Finally, by merging the verdicts, on the basis of Article 35 of the Penal Code, the court convicts defendant Rita Marko with a single verdict of six years imprisonment.

4. To leave in effect the Tirana Court Verdict No. 505, dated 2 July 1994, regarding the guilt and legal qualification of the crime of defendant Aranit Cela, and change this verdict regarding the measure of conviction, finally sentencing him, on the basis of Article 106 and 13 of the Penal Code, to five years imprisonment.

5. To leave in effect the Tirana Court Verdict No. 505, dated 2 July 1994, regarding the civil indictment. [end recording]

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Zhelev Picks New Choice To Form Cabinet

AU2609104994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 94

[Text] On the basis of Article 99, Paragraph 3 of the Bulgarian Constitution, on 26 September President Zhelyu Zhelev issued Decree No. 191 by which he entrusted the New Choice parliamentary faction with the task of proposing a candidate for the post of prime minister. The decree was conveyed at a special meeting of the head of state with the New Choice leadership. In a special statement for Bulgarian national radio the president's judicial adviser [no name specified] clarified the constitutional procedure for overcoming the cabinet crisis.

[Begin recording] According to the procedure envisaged by Article 99 of the Bulgarian Constitution, the president is empowered to give an additional parliamentary faction the mandate to form a new cabinet. I say empowered and not obliged, because on the basis of Article 99, unlike the first and the second attempt, when the largest and the second largest parliamentary factions were offered the mandate, the president can now determine which of the remaining factions could try to propose a prime minister.

In the first two cases, again on the basis of the Constitution, the two largest factions had the right to receive the mandate.

If the New Choice faction proposes a candidate for the post of prime minister, this candidate will be given a period of seven days in which to try to form a new cabinet. If he succeeds in this enterprise, the president is obliged to propose to the parliament to debate the candidacy of the designated prime minister and to vote on it.

If the prime minister is then elected by the National Assembly, he will propose his cabinet to the National Assembly, and this in turn is discussed and voted upon en bloc by the National Assembly. [end recording]

After receiving the mandate, Ivan Pushkarov, New Choice cochairman, told journalists that the name of the prime minister candidate will be proposed to President Zhelev no later than Friday [30 September]. Until then the New Choice will hold meetings with the parliamentary factions of the Democratic Alternative for the Republic, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, and individual deputies from the Union of Democratic forces and the Bulgarian Socialist Party. At those meetings the New Choice will seek support for the program it intends to propose at the National Assembly simultaneously with the new cabinet. This program will be specifically linked to a certain period of time. Ivan Pushkarov also said that New Choice will demand an open vote at the National Assembly.

Prediction of Failure for FYROM's Gligorov

AU2609095894 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 21 Sep 94 p 12

[Commentary by Lyubcho Neshkov: "Gligorov Will Also Fall"]

[Text] The news that the current Macedonian president will again be a candidate in the October presidential elections is more proof that those who have ruled the country for the last 50 years have no intention of relinquishing power and allowing real democratic changes in Macedonia [the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

Three years represent a sufficient period for assessing the activity of a president and drawing the appropriate conclusions, especially at a time of dynamic changes. During that period the name of the current presidential candidate has been related to his persistent attempts to link Macedonia to Yugoslavia. In anything related to Bulgaria Gligorov will be remembered by his scandalous visits to Bulgaria, whose goal it was to justify in the eyes of Macedonian citizens the lack of any relations with Bulgaria on the one hand, and fan 80 years of anti-Bulgarian propaganda on the other. Gligorov deserves the lowest assessment regarding his policy toward the Albanians in Macedonia. This line leads not only toward federalization, but toward the Albanization of the country.

Like every other Macedonian citizen, Gligorov knows that cooperation with Sofia is the only salvation from this danger. However, this would change the people's notion about Bulgaria, and Gligorov prefers the "ethnic purge" to the salvation of the republic.

Holding the elections a month earlier than originally planned confirms that the government and the president fear the inevitable revelations that would have become part of a free election campaign. Gligorov wants no risks, despite the total support of the radio, television, and the only newspaper.

The people in Skopje continue to believe that all this is a temporary phenomenon and that everything will again return to the old pattern. Even before Gligorov announced his candidacy NOVA MAKEDONIJA wrote that the victor in the coming elections is already known. Obviously, certain people in Skopje continue to long for the time when the "victor" was determined by a close circle.

Inertia in politics is not only dangerous, but also fatal. Failing to grasp the inevitability of effecting changes can only lead, willingly or unwillingly, to losing power. Regardless of how much the people speak about Gligorov's "wise and peace-loving policy," it will eventually lead in this direction.

Gligorov will also fall.

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Havel Says Public Trust in Army Must Be Renewed

LD2509162894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Eva Hulkova at Lany presidential residence; date not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Hulkova] The Army was a natural subject we have chosen for an interview with the president in these conversations. [passage omitted]

[Havel] I consider it to be a very important, specific, and original task of a defense minister to gain and renew public trust in the Army. Minister Vilem Holan mentioned this, though using different words, as one of the tasks he is facing.

I have spoken about it on many occasions, the last time in my recent speech in Pribyslav. It is simply necessary that our public should become aware of the fact that the freedoms enjoyed by us, a tranquility, political stability, and social peace are not commonplace. Unfortunately, we are living in a world where one cannot say that civic coexistence, democratic values, and peace are commonplace securities, and where there is no need to think about their defense. A long and very brutal war is taking place close to us. It should serve as a reminder.

Besides, people have unfortunately gotten used to thinking that we are small, that whatever we do, we cannot defend ourselves against anybody—therefore, that it is a task for the major countries. We have always looked toward some major allies, and were disappointed when they failed to help us. However, there is an old saying that one needs to help oneself to be helped by others. Nobody will help us unless we show a willingness to defend ourselves, to defend the values our society has adopted. [passage omitted]

Havel Interviewed Before Summit at Alpbach

94CH0420A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13 Sep 94 p 16a

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Alan Levy: "Vaclav Havel: An In-Flight Interview"]

[Text] A little over a fortnight ago, on the 26th anniversary of his country's invasion by five Warsaw Pact "allies," Vaclav Havel flew to the Austrian Tyrol for a summit meeting with seven other presidents, the prince of Liechtenstein and the president-designate of the European Commission. Aboard his 17-passenger Canadian-made Challenger jet that Sunday noon at Old Ruzyne airport—until 1968, Prague's main airport; now used for business jets—a quartet of his aides sat two abreast in four of six facing tan leather lounge chairs up front and his physician, bodyguards, interpreter, a pair of photographers and I in more conventional business-class seating in the rear of the same brass-trimmed cabin.

In a matter of minutes, we were aloft en route to Innsbruck airport, but our land destination was Alpbach, a mountain village some 50 kilometers (31 miles) from the provincial capital. Right after World War II, Alpbach achieved renown as the home of an annual European Forum and, as a climax to this year's 50th, President Thomas Klestil of Austria had invited his neighboring heads of state for a "European Dialogue."

As soon as the seat belt and no-smoking signs were off, the president of the Czech Republic stood up from his seat across the aisle from his aides, hung the jacket of his dark-gray pinstripe suit on his seatback and, ever the solicitous host, looked around to make sure his guests were comfortable. To whet our appetite, he passed out a brochure in Czech advertising "Fun-tasticky Alpbach." And, speaking in Czech, he told me how much he was looking forward to going there on this particular day:

"It so happens that, in my mind, the 21st of August is linked with Alpbach in a special way. The European Forum there always takes place at this time of year, and those invited include intellectuals as well as politicians. In 1968, I was invited to go to Alpbach along with some 23 Czech writers, artists and scientists. At the last moment, though, I decided not to go because the air was growing dense in my country and I had the feeling I had better stay at home. Some of my colleagues who went to Alpbach proceeded straight into exile after the invasion, and 1968's Alpbach forum became a kind of protest against the invasion. So this is what I remember when flying there on this anniversary."

As soon as he sat down again, smoke began to rise from his seat two rows ahead of me. I reminded his official photographer that I'd like an arty, smoke-filled photo if Havel lit up during my interview tomorrow. "I don't know if I can oblige you," Jiri Jiru replied, "because we don't want to do advertising for Philip Morris. The Castle's very sensitive about that." Disembarking after our 40-minute flight, I noticed a half-empty pack of Camels—an R.J. Reynolds brand—at Havel's place.

The Innsbruck airport welcome was surprisingly free of the pomp and ceremony for which Austria is famous; just dark-suited officials hurrying us into a motorcade by clapping their hands at the president and his party and barking, *"Schnell! Schnell!"* (It took nine hours for our more lethargic luggage to catch up with us in Alpbach.) At Innsbruck's royal palace, the Hofburg, Havel was hustled upstairs for a reception given by the provincial governor.

It was when the 10 guests of honor emerged two hours later for a stroll through Innsbruck's Old Town pedestrian zone that I started feeling sorry for Vaclav Havel for the first of many times in the next two days. Swept into a sea of entourages, VIPs, media and a public that was polite but thirsty to grasp hold of history by pressing presidential flesh, the diminutive Havel vanished from view.

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I kept track of his whereabouts by seeking out the bullet-shaped head of his taller bodyguard. And I recognized that—even while hearing a brass band play national hymns and taking a salute from 21 guns firing one deafening blast—Havel was seeing fewer of Innsbruck's glories than even the most dyspeptic day tourist.

The discreet mob scene was repeated in Alpbach in early evening, by which time Havel was hobbling. That was when I first heard the dread word *plotynky* (slipped disc) making the rounds of the Czech contingent. Posing in a row with the nine others as they listened to music and musketry, Havel clutched the balcony ledge of the Boglerhof hotel.

His distress was visible during the remaining public events, so my first question in our airborne interview next day was a solicitous one about his health. He brushed it off with:

"Yes, I have a disc problem, which is a minor ailment, but it has created some difficulties for me lately. If you are interested in a report or some specific diagnosis, my doctor is sitting in the back." (The doctor later confirmed that he has been treating President Havel "by chiropractic means" thus far.)

I wished him well and wondered whether it was hard to survive the summit in pain.

"Yes," he answered. "Sitting wasn't too much of a problem, and we did plenty of that. Standing and walking were difficult and, on occasions like receptions and posing for pictures on balconies, I held on or got to a seat as soon as I could." He nodded agreement when I remarked that the multifold "photo opportunities" weren't opportunities for him. But, ever the trouper, he asked me to change the subject while he lit his first cigarette (Marlboro Lights this time) and carried on in pain.

I asked whether he enjoyed flying, and he indicated that, like many of us, he relishes its time-capsule insulation.

"Before 1989," he said, "I flew only once or twice, but during my presidencies, I've flown tens of thousands of kilometers. I've gotten used to it, and now I quite enjoy flying because there are no telephones ringing and usually nothing much happens, so I have time for reading, quiet concentration.

"Generally, I'm not afraid of flying—unless we're in a very heavy storm. Two or three times, it's been turbulent enough that, while I wasn't frightened, I was a little bit disturbed."

As a boy, did he ever have any ambition to fly a plane?

"I don't have any specific memories, but probably I did because I wouldn't have been a normal boy if that idea had never occurred to me. But I wanted to be many things. At the age of five or six, I even had the idea of becoming a politician, but I soon forgot about that."

Amid laughter joined by his aides across the aisle, he went on to talk about jet lag:

"When one flies from Prague to America, for example, one doesn't have so much of a problem. It's only that one gets sleepy earlier than the locals. I remember once, though, when we flew to Canada, there were parades and talks and social functions as soon as we got there that went on all day long. The state banquet was winding well past midnight, which was the equivalent of 7 a.m. back in Prague, and I must have been dropping because [then] Prime Minister [Brian] Mulroney asked the governor-general to abandon the dessert and let us go to bed—finally!"

I remarked that it seemed to me his second presidency (of the new Czech Republic since early 1993) seemed more ceremonial than his first (of the former Czechoslovakia from late 1989 to mid-1992). Havel knew what I was getting at, for he responded:

"Uh-huh. In many ways, the Czech presidency is certainly different from my earlier presidency in the federation, but I certainly wouldn't say that the difference consists of a greater amount of ceremonial obligations. I don't even think it has so much to do with the changed constitutional status of the presidency. First and foremost, the political situation in my country as well as in the world has changed since that earlier period following the revolution when there were dramatic changes under way and our discussions of specific situations would sometimes have immediate tangible results. Now the situation has become more stable, and the pace of developments is not so hectic anymore, so perhaps it may appear that I'm having more formal conversations nowadays."

"Do you relish the pomp and ceremony that goes with them?" I asked.

"I wouldn't say I enjoy ceremonies just on principle, but I do try to distinguish between what is enjoyable and what is pure cliche, like all the posing for photo opportunities. But, after all, ceremonies are a part of public life, and I do like those that are done with taste and simplicity, tradition and ritual, where you can perceive some spirit behind them."

I asked him if he was enjoying his job.

"It's like any other job I've had throughout my life," he answered. "I enjoy it when I'm succeeding, when it brings some results—and when it's hopeless, I will retire."

"Could you ever just leave it and go back to writing?" I wondered. The playwright replied:

"I have not stopped writing altogether, for I still write my speeches. But this is not always so pleasant. Before, as a writer, I wrote when I had some idea that I wanted to commit to paper, while now [beckoning to four aides across aisle] I have to write whenever these gentlemen

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plan a speech for me to deliver. [Almost, but not quite in unison, his producers take a bow.] Of course, I cannot do any other writing right now. I have neither the time nor the ability to concentrate on anything else. But one day, after I leave office, I would certainly like to write differently again."

Did he think he'd be a better writer for his experience as president? He answered elliptically:

"I don't know. I would not venture to say whether I will have become a better writer afterward, but certainly I'll be able to draw upon a wealth of inspiring experience. Whether I will be able to make use of that experience, I would not venture to judge."

Chatting with Havel about the YAP (Young Americans in Prague) factor as we approached Ruzyne, I told him that when I'm asked why they were drawn to Prague and not Berlin or Budapest in the wake of 1989's revolutions, I answer that Prague's mystique is not just its beauty and cheap beer, but—in the beginning, at least—the saga of Havel. How did he feel about being a romantic, dramatic symbol?

"On the one hand," he said, "I have indeed noticed that some young people—intellectuals, artists—have pinned high hopes on me because they may see me as a sort of spy of theirs: of the freedom-loving intellectuals in the realm of high politics. But, on the other hand, I wouldn't want to think that some 20,000 people have come all the say to Prague just for my sake. I think that what attracted them was the atmosphere of the city."

When the plane touched down, my final question drew his ire just the way it draws mine: "I hear people say, 'It was better under communism.' How would you respond?"

"What can I tell them?" Havel snapped. "That they should vote for Mr. [Miroslav] Grebenicek's [Communist] party? Or for [former hard-line Prague Communist Party boss Miroslav] Stepan? Now they have a democracy, so it's up to them."

If I had angered Vaclav Havel, the last words I heard from him were angrier—but they were directed at his doctor, not at me, after the president had walked painfully through the waiting honor guard. "I'm not going to any hospital," he barked—and went bravely about his business.

Moravian Interest in Self-Government Declines

94CH0419A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 30 Aug 94 pp 1, 3

[Article by Victor Gomez: "Moravia: The Nationalist Fire Grows Cold"]

[Text] Brno—It came out of nowhere, surprising people across the country.

The little region of Moravia—eternally and quietly sandwiched between Bohemia and Slovakia—had given birth to a national movement. A party representing Moravian interests snatched about 25 percent of the region's votes in the first post-communist elections in 1990.

In Prague, already keenly aware of Slovak discontent, almost no one knew anything about these people who had given themselves the impossibly long name Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS).

They seemed to echo national sentiments that were brewing in Slovakia, but their origins were wholly different. Moravians speak Czech, share a long history with Czechs, and many even proudly call themselves Czechs.

But this confusion and concern quickly turned to derision and mockery as the first members of the movement arrived in the capital city to carry out their mandates.

At press conferences, Prague journalists would snicker and roll their eyes as the movement's leader, Jan Krycer, stated his mission: to defend the interests of his region and push for a state government in Moravia. But these goals turned into pipe dreams.

The movement's only concrete achievement is noticeable on the Czech Republic's coat of arms. A red-and-white Moravian eagle and a black Silesian one. That's it.

Over the past year, the movement has shattered into disparate shards, its goals as unattainable as ever, its support drained away.

While some members quit to join mainstream political forces, the main group has transformed itself—almost as if trying to hide its Moravian origins. It now calls itself the Czech-Moravian Party of the Center (CMSS).

Through all the indications that the party is moving away from its original mandate, Jiri Drapela, one of the founders of the new image, sharply denies that he is discarding his beloved roots.

"I am proud of my Moravian heritage, and I don't see any reason to be ashamed of it," he says from his party's headquarters in Brno. "Regional movements just don't have any hope to influence today's Czech political scene."

But the CMSS isn't the only game in town. Another splinter group from the original movement refuses to join them, saying they remain loyal to the Moravian cause. No equivocations here: These people call themselves the Moravian National Party.

"We are, of course, a Moravian party.... We think Moravia needs a clear-cut political program and not this centrist politics," declares party leader Ivan Drimal.

As these groupings continue to bicker about who is more faithful to the cause, the people have stopped caring. In

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a June poll of Brno residents, 7 percent of respondents said they would vote for the national party, while only 3 percent threw their support behind the centrist party.

This represents a sharp decline from the 1990 elections, when members of the Moravian movement took almost half the seats in the Brno city council.

Drapela insists that his party would be stronger in the polls if it was given more attention by what he calls the "Czech-biased media." But in the same breath, he can't help bemoaning the lack of a strong local identity.

"The local pride is not built up here. Look at the Slovaks. They were proud of their origin. Unfortunately, we don't have that here."

Members of the Moravian movement often stress the patriotic trappings of history and symbolism to explain their reason for existence.

Drapela and Drimal both wrap themselves in glowing references to the Great Moravian Empire of the ninth century. At one time, this empire encompassed all of the present-day Czech Republic, as well as parts of Slovakia, Poland and Austria.

They never fail to mention the 19th-century Czech writer Karel Havlicek Borovsky, who contended that Czechs and Moravians possess different mentalities: Moravians have an easy, open temperament, while Czechs tend to be pragmatic and introverted.

This feeling of distinctness was confirmed in a 1991 census in which 1.36 million people stated their nationality as Moravian rather than Czech or Slovak.

But perhaps one of the factors hampering any political movement is the fact that Moravian nationalist feelings have always co-existed with equally strong feelings of loyalty to the Czech state.

Antonin Surka, general manager of the Brno Convention Center, says the initial success of the "Moravian parties" had more to do with money than sentiment.

The political movement, he says, cashed in on an almost subconscious feeling that has existed among local people since at least 1918, when Czechoslovakia was established.

"There's a certain feeling of injustice that doesn't really have political undertones. It's more like an economic problem," he says. "There is this idea that Moravia creates a certain amount of wealth and that this is put into a national treasure chest and not enough of it comes back."

Surka says the Moravian movement was successful because it used this feeling to push for self-government. If the region had its own state government that could levy taxes and make budgets, Moravians could hold on to the fruits of their labor.

The idea caught on in 1990 and again in 1992, when the people running the movement were largely unknown and managed to hang together. Now, it has fallen out of fashion for a variety of reasons, including disarray and division within the movement itself. Perhaps the most severe single blow to the Moravian movement has been the split of Czechoslovakia. The stigma of separation now hangs over any kind of demand for more Moravian autonomy.

As fall's local elections approach, the Moravian parties are trying to deal with this stigma. The national party is already trying to tap the national-wealth issue without arousing suspicions. Campaign billboards recently began appearing in Brno with two separate depictions of the Czech Republic. One shows the country breaking in half with the heading "Don't divide." The other shows the country together with two equal stacks of money standing in Bohemia and Moravia. The heading reads "Share."

Whether the parties' messages can succeed may depend on the extent to which average people in the region believe the Moravian parties actually represent their interests.

For most people, the daily task of making a living has pushed to the back burner symbolism and haughty words about Prague's disinterest in the Moravian hinterlands.

Several kilometers northwest of Brno lies the historic cradle of the Great Moravian Empire—a town called Stare Mesto, which literally means "Old Town."

Here, Petr Hajek works as a part-time carpet cleaner while also helping his wife manage a little grocery store near the train station. Juggling two jobs to make ends meet, Hajek can't afford the luxury of sitting back and contemplating Moravia's special history and interests.

"I don't have time for it," he says. "Maybe I would say yes to [self-government], but these people said they would do it last time. Why didn't they? I guess they were weak politicians."

His friend, Josef Nemecek, brandishes a twisted wooden cane and puts an end to the conversation by raising his voice: "I feel proud that I was born here in Moravia...but we're Czechs. We live in the Czech Republic."

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Kukan on Country's Role in UN Peacekeeping

LD2309194794 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Excerpt] Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan leaves tomorrow for New York to attend the 49th UN General Assembly. He will deliver his speech before representatives of 180 member states on Wednesday 28 October [as heard] On this occasion Eduard Kukan met a small circle of journalists today.

[Begin Kukan recording] I will speak about Slovakia, its main problems in the current period of development; what methods we are using to build democratic institutions; how we are going about economic transformation, and how we want to participate in the main areas of UN activities. I am glad to say that Slovakia has got a say here. We are taking part in peacekeeping operations in Yugoslavia, Liberia, Rwanda, Angola, and currently we are discussing the extension of Slovak participation in these operations. [passage omitted] [end recording]

French Chief of Staff Satisfied With Visit

LD2509200994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Excerpts] Admiral Jacques Lanxade, chief of staff of the French Armed Forces, has ended his three-day official visit to Slovakia today.

[Unidentified correspondent] During his talks, Admiral Jacques Lanxade met in succession top Slovak representatives. The aim of the talks was to discuss very specific possibilities of cooperation between the Slovak and French Armies. He emphasized that mutual cooperation had historical roots, whose development had acquired a more intensive pace after the Slovak Republic was established. [passage omitted]

At the meeting with journalists, Lanxade emphasized that he was satisfied with the conclusions of the talks with Army and Church representatives. He believes that, at the end of October, a commission comprising Slovak and French experts will conclude a specific agreement on the conditions of the practical part of cooperation, focusing above all on joint exercises of the air force and selected ground forces.

In particular, Lanxade highlighted the consistency with which—and the way in which—the young Army of the Slovak Republic was being developed, as well as its efforts at being incorporated into the European security structures. [passage omitted]

Admiral Lanxade told us in an interview that he was pleased that during his visit to Slovakia he discovered that there was a genuine patriotism that exerted a positive influence upon all security issues in Europe, and that Slovakia was actively trying to resolve these issues.

General Julius Humaj, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Slovak Army, bade farewell to Admiral Jacques Lanxade tonight.

Meciar Confident of HZDS Winning Election

94CH0421A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13 Sep 94 p 5

[Commentary by Kevin Drew: "The Third Coming of Vladimir Meciar"]

[Text] Bratislava—If the six months spent on the sidelines have whittled away at Vladimir Meciar's confidence, he doesn't show it.

In that time, the former prime minister has had ample opportunity to reflect on his second fall from power in the past four years. But little has changed about the man or the stands he t[illegible]

At a Sept. 1 meeting with foreign journalists, Meciar touched on familiar themes. He promised to halt a privatization process he called rushed and poorly planned, said he could work harmoniously with the Hungarian government, suggested limiting the powers of the president, and criticized foreign media coverage of Slovakia in general and of himself in particular.

"I can't recall any other state where so many articles have been written undermining it," he said. "And I don't know of any other person who has had so many untruths written about him."

What was noteworthy was the style in which he delivered his points. He and his Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) are back as a political force, he said, and will return to rule Slovakia again following the Sept. 30-Oct. 1 national elections.

"We are older, more mature and more experienced," Meciar said of the HZDS. "It is impossible to ignore us."

Most opinion polls show the HZDS registering between 25 and 30 percent support. Meciar predicted his party will pick up another 10 points in September, and suggested he could then form a government without the support of other parties.

"The only question I have to ask myself is whether we'll have to form a coalition or be able to govern in our own right," he said.

Such confidence is a Meciar trademark. His meeting with foreign journalists and one with Slovak journalists the next day officially kicked off an HZDS campaign road show that will consist of a series of appearances by the former prime minister throughout Slovakia.

It has been estimated that during the campaign, the HZDS may spend more than $2 million on soccer games, beauty pageants and civic gatherings, all in an effort to draw voters back to the party that led Slovakia to independence two years ago.

Meciar believes the strategy will work. He said the HZDS is a familiar symbol, made more attractive by the country's confusing, fractious politics.

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Referring specifically to Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik's Democratic Party (DS), he said many parties formed this year are "parties of leaders, but they lack a constituency." He said such parties lack a popular mandate to govern, and predicted that they will be abandoned by voters, who he believes will choose from among the HZDS, the socialist coalition, the Christian Democrats and the Hungarian coalition.

Meciar said a coalition with the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) is "statistically very viable, but not practically." He said he disagrees with SDL Chairman Peter Weiss on economic issues.

Meciar lost a parliamentary vote of confidence last March, with his adversaries claiming that his authoritarian style of leadership had caused his downfall. Moravcik and Slovak President Michal Kovac were once HZDS members and comrades of Meciar, but Moravcik led a rebellion against him in February and Kovac made a speech to parliament that is said to have inspired the no-confidence vote.

Meciar said he harbored no animosity toward Kovac. But he said changes are needed in the powers of the presidency, because the relationship between that post and the government is "out of balance."

He said if Slovakia is to have a strong presidency, the public and not the parliament should elect the chief executive. Otherwise, the position should be ceremonial, he said.

Most of Meciar's criticisms were aimed at Moravcik. The coalition government "has accomplished nothing," he said, and claimed that the second wave of voucher privatization was being rushed.

Meciar has never been a fan of voucher privatization, saying it would allow Slovak assets to be bought up by foreigners. He said he would suspend the second wave if he returns to power, in part because most of the companies being offered are not ready for privatization.

Such statements have caused foreign investors to take a wait-and-see approach to the Slovak elections before they commit to large-scale projects in the country.

Meciar's often antagonistic rhetoric toward Hungary and the ethnic Hungarian community in Slovakia has also caused concern among Western leaders. But Meciar said he believes his international image is a good one.

"I think I'm well-liked," he said. "Many [Western leaders] are my personal friends."

On the Campaign Trail

—A recent poll by Slovak Radio found 28 percent of Slovak voters undecided about which party they will vote for in the coming elections, scheduled for Sept. 30-Oct. 1. The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) came in as the most popular party in the poll, but at 19.4 percent, its support was much lower than in some other polls. In second place was the Common Choice Coalition of socialist parties, dominated by the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL), followed by the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and the coalition of ethnic Hungarian parties.

Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik's Democratic Party (DS) registered only 4.5 percent support, less than the 5 percent needed to put deputies into parliament.

According to the poll, which did not state its margin of error, three out of four Slovak citizens said they will vote.

—Slovak Television is halting the broadcast of Czech Television's "Events and News" program on its national channel during the campaign season. Slovak laws regulating the media during campaigns do not apply to the foreign media, said Slovak Television program manager Milos Mistrik. Allowing the program to continue might be interpreted as an attempt to influence the campaign, he said.

Kovac on His Effort To Promote Civic Consensus

94CH0413A Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 26 Aug 94 pp 1-2

[Interview with President Michal Kovac by Ludmila Sykorova; place and date not given: "History Prompts Slovaks To Be Cautious"]

[Text] *Recently, the Slovak daily SME reprinted the document produced by the Foundation of Charter 77 the Forum of the Intelligentsia of Slovakia, the Slovak Center of PEN, entitled "An Invitation to Statements of Intolerance in the Slovak Republic," in which it is stated that the Slovak Republic, like the other nations, was not spared such manifestations as nationalism, xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism. Reference is made to attacks by "skinheads" against Gypsies, assaults against foreigners who have colored skin, anti-Semitic attacks in periodicals, a historical handbook for schools that grossly distorts the history of Slovakia, the condemnation of a poet who called a spade a spade.*

[Sykorova] Mr. President, your tolerance is generally known. In recent times, you undertook several foreign trips and received top representatives of other nations in Slovakia. Did these conversations include references to problems that are referred to by the "Invitation"? In your opinion, what is the view abroad of Slovakia in this regard?

[Kovac] In my conversations with statesmen, the topics you mention do not come up. As you noted yourself, some manifestations of intolerance occur in all countries. In other words, not even Slovakia is an exception. I personally react to specific manifestations in an appropriate manner. These are isolated manifestations, but they cannot be underestimated. On the other hand, I do not think Slovakia is any worse than other countries in this regard. Unfortunately, extremism in politics and in

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social life is part and parcel of life even in the stable democracies. I am convinced that Slovakia is on the right track toward strengthening those elements in politics that would minimize extreme manifestations.

[Sykorova] At the gathering of Slovaks at Surany (the Seventh Memorandum Assembly convoked by the Civic Initiative to support the Slovak Cultural Organization), voices were heard to say that, in the south of Slovakia, administrative Magyarization is proceeding with the blessing of the president, the government, and parliament. In my opinion, the gathering had a political subtext and was among those contributing to the polarization of society. Hitherto, your efforts were aimed at gaining a political and nationalities' consensus. Do you intend to continue staying with this line?

[Kovac] I know of not even the slightest reason I should not stay with my existing line of humanitarian-civic understanding. On the contrary, I continue to be more and more convinced that the primary tasks of a president in a democratic state include the integration of the population and not alienation and nonsensical polarization. In mixed territories, there is always the danger that tensions could arise, or even conflicts. Who else if not primarily the president has to undertake everything to blunt the edges of misunderstanding and distrust?

It is not surprising that history—and included in it the frequent threat to the very existence of the nation, its language, and culture—tends to urge Slovaks to be careful. It would be illogical if precisely the president, who contributed to the development of an independent state of Slovaks, were to bless any administrative or other kind of Magyarization or damage done to the fundamental rights of a sovereign state. But it would be equally illogical if the president were not to care about respecting the fundamental rights of citizens in Slovakia—for example, the right to their own culture. It would seem that citizens frequently understand the president's efforts to seek problem-free conditions for coexistence between Slovaks and the other nationalities and ethnic groupings better than the politicians who make out like they are speaking for all citizens of the Slovak nation or for national minorities. In the end, this quiet atmosphere confirms that the citizens of southern Slovakia prefer sensible and civilized solutions.

[Sykorova] Slovakia is facing an extraordinary anniversary—the 50th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. In the past, celebrations of the uprising were varied. There was even a deprecation of it by the Czech side (I am now thinking of former President Novotny), and not even today is there any agreement as to its evaluation. There are historians who judge that this uprising objectively altered the character of Czech-Slovak relations, that it was tantamount to having a mature Slovak nation espouse membership in the anti-Hitler coalition and the renewal of the Czechoslovak union. Others consider 29 August as a "black day." How do you see this day, you as the first president of an independent Slovak Republic?

[Kovac] Because—thank God—there is democracy, historians and other citizens have the right to voice different evaluations of serious historic events. I personally do not perceive 29 August 1944 as either a coup against my own state or a demonstration of the relationship of Czecho-Slovak statehood. I am convinced that the majority of the participants in these dramatic events in the summer and fall of 1944 were primarily seeking a way out of the humbling alliance with fascist Germany and that the Slovak National Uprising helped a mature Slovak people join the anti-Hitler coalition, as you have stated in your question.

Excessive generalizations can lead to inappropriate distortions of history. Among the insurgents, there were certainly many who longed for the renewal of the Czechoslovak union, particularly those who connected the first Czechoslovak Republic with the notion of a democratic state. They certainly included many who saw the Slovak National Uprising as an opportunity to subjugate Slovakia (Czechoslovakia) to a "dictatorship of the proletariat"—in other words, to communist ideology, headed by the Soviet Union. We cannot see down to every individual, but, in terms of the final consequences, the Slovak National Uprising was truly a noteworthy action that unequivocally ranked Slovaks as a comprehensive community among the society of freedom-loving nations.

Alternate Strategy for Privatization Offered

94CH0416A Bratislava SLOBODNY PIATOK in Slovak 25 Aug 94 p 13

[Interview with J. Zapletal, director of the Solid Building Co., by Andrej Reiner; place and date not given: "How We Have Privatized Our Destitution"]

[Text] [Reiner] Mr. Zapletal, you are the successful manager and director of the prospering firms of Solid Building, Softline Services, and SWS Slovakia. Your development after 1989 can be summed up in a single word: success. But, on the other hand, you are taking a critical stand with respect to economic development in Slovakia....

[Zapletal] The citizens of Slovakia have become poorer; almost half of them are living below the minimum existence level. The misery suffered by our citizens is not the tax paid for the transformation of the economy but is the result of the erroneous concept for privatization. It is necessary to put an end to the dilettantist form of privatization that causes economic disruption and results in the development of a narrow stratum of billionaires and in the continuing impoverishment of a large number of our citizens.

[Reiner] Where do you see the greatest mistakes, and how can they be rectified?

[Zapletal] Thus far, we have had five different governments, and none of them have accepted criticism for the erroneous concept of privatization, despite the fact that

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we were documenting the kind of damage to which it contributes. The fundamental error is the notion that the goal of economic restructuring is privatization. The real goal, however, is the creation of viable enterprises, capable of existing under conditions of hard competition. A viable enterprise is a living organism; it is the final phase of the evolution of a living world. Therefore, our task is not to privatize but to create enterprises as living organisms, which are not physically or administratively destructive.

[Reiner] You surely do not wish to contend that the sole cause of our current economic misery is the erroneous form of privatization?

[Zapletal] Naturally, there are several reasons. They are closely connected with each other. The negative developments were and continue to be supported because insolvency is tolerated, which results in transferring the bad management at state enterprises to healthy enterprises, and the latter are thus virtually being ruined. It is necessary to specifically draw attention to the fact that this kind of management is considered to be criminal in normally functioning countries and is classified as larceny. The insolvency on the part of state enterprises in those countries is covered by the state budget, and well-functioning private enterprises are not impacted, as is the case in our country. If this were done in this country, our state budget would be showing a far greater deficit than is being indicated today. Also, the state budget of the Czech Republic would be deeply in the red.

But the most serious mistake is the development of enterprises that are owned by the IPF [Investment Privatization Fund], the FNM [National Property Fund], and DIK's [holders of investment coupons]. In enterprises that have been privatized in this manner, the principles of the real world are not taken into account. The enterprises are managed by bureaucrats whose existence is not connected with the results reported by these enterprises, and, therefore, they are not the actual owners, even if they control the boards of directors and the oversight councils. Any possible losses do not affect them directly. They are spread among the individual DIK's, who virtually have no opportunity to intervene in these processes. This is an ideal environment for extensive corruption and pilferage of property.

[Reiner] You mention the DIK's and their helplessness with regard to entering into the life of enterprises. Does this mean that you are opposed to citizens having a share in the created property?

[Zapletal] On the contrary. Privatization in which 100,000 Slovak korunas [Sk] are sufficient to establish a corporation with limited liability and to receive an allocation of property worth Sk1.6 billion with the starting capital to be paid back from future economic results is a violation of the principle of merit because it is obvious that this payback represents absolutely no problem. Where is the justice here when property that was created by our citizens is distributed without regard to any type of merit? The damage caused by unfinished and erroneously realized privatization amounts to tens of billions of Slovak korunas: This is money of which the citizens of Slovakia have been deprived. This is money that is not available for education, science, culture, health care, justice, or the social security of our citizens. I can document this fact on the basis of statistical materials.

[Reiner] The chances are that nothing can be done about that anymore. So, how are you proposing now that we proceed with privatization?

[Zapletal] It is necessary to restrict uncontrollable manipulation involving investment coupons by the IPF and DIK's. It is necessary to use a percentage of the proceeds of shares sold by the National Property Fund for direct remuneration based on the number of years worked in helping to create state ownership, which is the object of the sale in question. It is necessary to eliminate the nonsensical machinery of coupon allocation to individual enterprises. This takes a long time, and, during that period, additional billions are lost through irrational management on the part of state enterprises and our citizens are again impoverished. There is no need to invent untraditional and unverified forms of privatization such as coupon privatization. Tested procedures from abroad will fully suffice. An example of privatization involving large enterprises can be seen in the FIAT automobile plant, 70 percent of which is owned by the state but is managed by Mr. De Agnieli, who owns 20 percent of the shares. This is the way in which large enterprises in this country could be privatized in stages and progressively, with the proviso that the new owner has the preemptive right to purchase additional securities as he proves able to pay off the first packet of securities. This is a method by which it is possible to substantially reduce the amount of resources expended on privatization and, at the same time, speed up the process.

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Kovacs: Budapest Welcomes Plan To Lift Embargo

LD2309184694 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] According to Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, the UN embargo against Yugoslavia has caused $1.5 billion damage to Hungary so far. The foreign minister gave an interview to Newsreel after delivering a lecture at the headquarters of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists on Hungary's long term foreign policy plans. He said Hungary could not expect the United Nations to compensate material losses incurred due to the embargo; however, Budapest welcomes the Security Council's idea to ease the anti-Yugoslav sanctions.

[Begin Kovacs recording] The embargo has caused losses which cannot be calculated directly and which have made even talks about economic cooperation impossible for Hungary and Yugoslavia. I think if the embargo is lifted, Hungary will not only be glad because no further losses will be incurred, but also because it is a normal thing for a country not to be excluded from international relations. [end recording]

Kovacs Defends President's Visit to China

LD2309195094 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, President Arpad Goncz's visit to China in recent days has proved to be useful from the view of both bilateral relations and the assertion of human rights. Yesterday, the Federation of Young Democrats wanted the president himself to explain why he visited China, as it is well known that there are problems connected with human rights there. Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs told the "Newsreel" program that it was the previous government that had prepared Goncz's visit.

[Begin Kovacs recording] I think that Goncz's visit was appropriate. It was appropriate in the first place to plan this visit since China is the world's most populous country and it has a huge economic potential and market. These aspects are taken into consideration by every country. Thus, Hungary did not tread a different path with this visit—on the contrary: It behaved just as all the other countries of the world behave.

This, of course, does not mean a change in the Hungarian human rights policy. I was informed that the president spelled out Hungary's human rights policy, the Hungarian opinion, very explicitly to his Chinese partners at the talks. [end recording]

Explains Border Remarks

LD2409182894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Excerpts] Will there be basic treaties concluded with neighboring countries? If so, what will they contain? This is our next topic. Peter Marvanyi interviews Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs.

[Begin recording] [Marvanyi] [Passage omitted] Recently you made a strange remark that we have not heard from you before. It suggests that there is a scope for peaceful border changes.

[Kovacs] I only said that the basic treaties that we are holding talks about do not exclude—in principle—the possibility for changing the borders by peaceful means, since these will lay down the confirmation of the inviolability of the borders—that is they will rule out the change of the borders by violent means—and they will state that the two sides do not have territorial claims toward the other.

Thus, no mention will be made about either the possibility or the exclusion of the possibility of changing the borders by peaceful means. This was what I referred to in Gyor when I said that this treaty did not rule out the possibility of changing the borders by peaceful means.

[Marvanyi] I think everybody wants to know what you, Mr. Foreign Minister, had in mind when referring to border changes. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] I did not have anything specific in mind. I only wanted to prove that the signing of the Basic Treaty and its ratification by the parliament do not contradict the possibility of the peaceful border revision.

So I would tell a Romanian politician who worries over this that this can only be put on the agenda if the Romanian and Hungarian Governments of the day agree that there is scope for this. I think nobody should have objections against this.

I did not say that this government was thinking about the possibility of a peaceful border change. We are not having any thoughts of this kind and at this point in time it is not a realistic idea anyway. This is only a possibility in principle. [end recording]

Kuncze Suggests Local Elections Using Old Laws

LD2509143394 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Excerpts] The country is, I hope, preparing for the election of the members of local governments and mayors. [passage omitted] At the same time, the parliament is considering changes in the election rules. Coordination began in the summer, and the proposal was submitted to the parliament at the beginning of September.

Among other things, it proposes that citizens should vote directly for the mayor; that the new mayor's authority should be narrower than the notary and the local governmental body; that there should be only one round in the election; and that the minimum turnout and voting threshold necessary for the validity of the vote should be abolished. [passage omitted] Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze was interviewed about the topic:

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[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] These laws were passed in 1990 with full agreement. Moreover, they concern fundamental constitutional institutions and fundamental provisions, so they should not be changed in any way except by a six-party consensus.

[Kuncze] I understand the opposition's concerns about the law to a certain extent. It is no coincidence that the Alliance of Free Democrats suggested talks at the beginning of the week so that an agreement could be made.

I understand the concerns if only because the opposition will be able to explain their performance in the local elections by saying that it happened because the rules have been changed. In relation to this, it would really be better to hold the elections according to the old rules because the results would be unambiguous in reflecting the voters' decision, which of course is true under another election system. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Editorial on Romanian Defense Official's Statement

AU2609085994 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 19 Sep 94 p 6

[Unattributed editorial: "Artillery Against Minorities"]

[Text] The Romanian national defense state secretary said at a forum recently that the Romanian Army had secret plans in case the national minorities wanted to manifest force or had some kind of separatist plans in mind. By this, Mircea Pascu claims that the attitude of the national minorities could be dangerous for state security and that the efforts toward autonomy of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania project the threat of separatism. In other words, the integrity of the state is threatened by the "recalcitrant" national minorities whose members are not "loyal" to the Romanian state, rather than by poverty, lack of goods, and the deeply-penetrated nationalism.

The deployment of the army, police, and miners armed with sticks, or threatening to do so, is nothing but a substitute policy that wishes to rely on ideology and controlled mission awareness, rather than the organic development of society. We also had a Csurka, who would have preferred to use policemen to get rid of the "anti- national" elements of the Hungarian Television and Radio. But the nation itself swept our Csurka off the carpet.

However, Bucharest seems to have overly praised the new Hungarian Government lately by regarding it as more reliable and more realistic than the previous government. This unsolicited praise probably disturbs the new Hungarian foreign ministry leadership because, thus, it is possible to make Hungary confront the "recalcitrant" Hungarian minority across the border.

What does Europe say to this, for which Bucharest would widely embrace us by urging a basic treaty? There is no place for minority rights, regions, and autonomy in the Romanian mirror of European integration. In our interpretation, however, Europe means general democratization, chances of ventures free of national and ethnic discrimination, the freedom of self-organization, and interstate confidence free of mythical fears and outworn historical grievances.

It seems that Bucharest and Budapest do not speak about the same Europe. Thus, it is not surprising that national minority policy means one thing in one place and another thing in another place: In Hungary, it is an organic part of the big integration process, while in Romania, as it transpires from Mircea Pascu's words, it is merely a state security matter.

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Reaction to Congress Rejecting Brown Amendment

LD2509192294 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Sep 94

[From the "Wiadomosci" newscast; relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[Text] The U.S. Congress has finally rejected the so-called Brown Amendment, which is a proposal to give Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary particular privileges in the framework of cooperation with NATO. In accordance with its guidelines, we would have received excess U.S. armaments at reduced prices. The opponents of the amendment feel that its adoption would have annoyed Russia, and argued that the United States ought not to have favorites among any of the countries seeking NATO membership.

[Unidentified correspondent] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, who landed in Warsaw an hour ago after a five day visit to China and Kazakhstan, said that the rejection of the amendment cannot be treated as a hindrance to the entry of Poland into NATO. In the prime minister's view, it is also not a vote of no confidence in Poland.

[Begin Pawlak recording] I think that there might be various issues here, issues of a very practical nature, and I would urge you to take an interest in these conditions. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Jerzy Szmajdzinski, the chairman of the Sejm National Defense Commission, has a different view.

[Begin Szmajdzinski recording] I judge that it is necessary, it is possible to treat this as a certain vote of no confidence, a kind of vote of no confidence, but not a final one. As I judge, not a final one. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Jerzy Szmajdzinski added that the government must in greater measure seek the support of the Bill Clinton Administration for Polish efforts to enter into NATO. In his view, the rejection of the amendment will, on the other hand, not influence the time when full membership will be possible.

Pawlak: Repatriating Kazakhstan Poles Last Resort

LD2509213594 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Relayed by TV Poloniya Network; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] The repatriation of the Poles living in Kazakhstan would be a last resort situation, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has said after returning from Kazakhstan and China.

[Unidentified correspondent] During the course of talks in Almaty it was established that repatriation on a wider scale would only be possible in extraordinary circumstances. The Poles living in Kazakhstan should now be helped by supporting Polish investments there.

[Pawlak] "So that our firms be capable of employing Poles living there, on the spot. I think it is also very important to consider the possibilities of supporting persons who are elderly or who are retired."

[Correspondent] The Poles in Kazakhstan will also be included in the implementation of the Transcontinental Railway, a kind of container bridge from Europe to Asia.

[Boguslaw Liberadzki, minister of transport and maritime economy] "That is from the eastern seaboard of China, through Kazakhstan, Russia, and so on, as far as Poland, and from Poland a change of gauge, and onwards to Western Europe."

[Correspondent] In the view of Industry Minister Marek Pol, during the course of the visit it was possible to break down certain barriers in Polish-Chinese contacts.

[Industry Minister Marek Pol] "Polonez cars are being exported to China again—2,000 are going there this year. This is for payment in cash. On the other hand, the Chinese partners have been searching for goods allowing them to compensate for increased supplies. There is such a possibility, this is corn and soya."

[Correspondent] [words indistinct]

[Pol] "This is not barter, this is cash payment, only quite simply it is a matter of equilibrating turnovers."

[Correspondent] Poland will over and above that be selling construction materials to China.

[Barbara Blida, minister of town and country planning] [title as heard] "We will be entering, or coming forward with an offer for water engineering projects. In concrete terms these are dams on the Yangtze."

[Correspondent] The prime minister expressed the view that in the near future it is possible to expect a doubling of trade turnovers between Poland and China, and which in the longer term ought to attain a level of $1 trillion.

Article Ponders Border Cooperation Issues

MM2609094794 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 16 Sep 94 p 9

[Article by Andrzej Kotula: "Euro-Peripheries, Or a Debate on Poland's Border Lands"]

[Text] "Euroregions are an important instrument of the Polish state's foreign policy"—this declaration made by Minister Michal Strak 9 September in Lubniewice at a conference of representatives of the government, the government's local administration, and local self-government bodies, defines unequivocally Warsaw's stand on that particular form of "transborder" cooperation. A stand which only a short while ago was still

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largely undecided, as the head of the Council of Ministers Office [URM] himself admitted.

Foreign policy at local level is the more difficult in the western parts of our country as it must take on and prove equal to the superiority of the German neighbor's initiative, ideas, and financial capabilities, all of which combine to create a clear strategic vision of the future of the border zone along the Odra and Nysa.

Instrument—Yes, But...What Kind of Instrument?

Euroregions are the best form of cooperation in the border zone because they represent ordered collaboration which rules out unpredictability and is both coordinated and far more advantageous (as well as safer) than unplanned, spontaneous activity on the part of individual parishes. In addition, in the eastern part of the country, where we are the stronger and more active side, they represent a tremendous opportunity for the (re)construction of our strategic positions. Everywhere, whether in the west or east, they are a good method of intensifying our cooperation with our neighbors, and in the east and south they can be expected to bring that cooperation at least to the "desirable level already attained in our cooperation with the FRG."

"The Contest That Doubles As Cooperation"

In Polish-German relations, Euroregions are "a test of the German partner's credibility in respect of Poland, which contributes to the creation of its image in the eyes of Western partners, but also a test of the credibility of Poland's participation in the process of European integration." At the same time, there is no doubt that "Poland's interest is the principal criterion of our attitude to Euroregions, and equilibrium is the measure of this interest."

"The worst threat to cooperation within Euroregions would be an instrumental approach to this cooperation on the part of Germany's eastern laender." The question of the purity of intention of the more active partner rises invariably every time a "contest" between conflicting interests invades the climate of neighborly European cooperation. The architects of Polish-German Euroregions pointed to the danger that the Euroregion label could be fraudulently invoked to obtain gains which are not related to any sphere of its activity. They asked how they should interpret such instances of the policy of faits accomplis as the siting of ecologically harmful projects, including open-cut lignite mines, a munitions recycling plant, or an industrial waste incineration plant, in the immediate vicinity of the Polish border, in the light of the fact that at the same time pressure is being applied to close the only Polish power plant in the region (Turow) although the many German and Czech power plants in the area which are equally damaging to the region's ecology are left undisturbed. In addition, they enquired about the chances of official intervention in the construction of a proposed superhighway designed to carry fast traffic across Polish territory, since the development would be detrimental to our interests.

According to Jerzy Sulek, head of the Polish diplomatic outpost in Berlin...

..."Lack of Symmetry Is a Natural Thing, In Life As In Nature"...

...and should not be demonized, because it also offers the weaker partner a chance to draw benefits from his association with the stronger partner. On balance, we benefit immensely from cooperation with our neighbors in the border regions. However, the existing, natural lack of proportion should not be aggravated: The danger lies in the passive attitude of Polish partners. "It is essential that we develop a blueprint for a functional western border cooperation region," Professor A. Stasiak, adviser to the URM chief, insisted. We must not permit any further deepening of the intellectual asymmetry, or reinforcement of our neighbors' conceptual superiority. The demographic asymmetry presents a danger here: "Zgorzelec, Gubin, and Slubice must not continue merely as eastern suburbs of Goerlitz, Guben, and Frankfurt an der Oder!" But the principal worry of the majority of the architects of transborder cooperation is the...

Financial Imbalance

We are unable to provide anything remotely comparable to the German mechanism that steadily pumps funds designated for the border regions from the federal coffers, the budgets, the laender, and Brussels subsidies. Average annual budgets of the Euroregions' Polish sections, which are supported solely by parish contributions, fluctuate around the sum of 700 million zlotys [Z].

The popular view of the Euroregions is that they are potentially of great economic significance and could contribute to eventual equalization of the living standards of the communities living on each side of the border.

However, "the devil resides in the details." Quite apart from major legislative problems, existing "legal barriers" are a source of many minor difficulties and embarrassments which compromise the Euroregions in the eyes of impartial observers. For example, Polish policemen have made German tourists pay fines for failing to carry...bicycle licenses (there is no such thing as a bicycle license in the FRG); and there was also a case in which German border officials confiscated a CB radio from a Polish taxi driver who was going to Germany on a private visit.

What Conclusions?

Euroregions? YES, but with a strong state involvement, and not administered exclusively by local authorities—so that decisions made at the local level are implementable and not blocked by a variety of legal, financial, and executive status barriers. In the words of J. Jakubiec, who represented the three-year-old NYSA Euroregion, "we have tremendous achievements at the level of our European mission, but nothing whatever to boast of when you look at the nitty-gritty of everyday practice."

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Minister Michal Strak formulated the following conclusions:

1. The government should support the Euroregions, because they are likely to encounter a lot of trouble when left to their own devices;

2. The Euroregion agreements, which are bilateral by their very nature, should be written into a broad European context. Consequently, they must try to attract the interest of the European Union, whose assistance is at present not always put to the best advantage;

3. It is necessary to intensify local bilateral contacts, and also expand their scope by ensuring the participation of the representatives of the state administration;

4. In the interest of improved cooperation between the government and local self-government bodies, it is necessary to acknowledge the competence of dedicated Euroregion associations in matters pertaining to the border zones, and to adopt the principle that meetings along the lines of the Lubniewice conference should be organized on a regular basis.

Two Maxims In Lieu of Conclusion

"There is a double bottom to this cooperation. The first level is reflected in the Foreign Affairs Ministry reports, and the second in the Internal Affairs Ministry reports. The discrepancies between the two hit the Opole voivoda the hardest."—Minister Michal Strak, head of the Council of Ministers Office.

"European integration progresses from the west eastward, not the other way around."—Cz. Fiedorowicz, Sejm deputy and mayor of Gubin.

Finance Minister Predicts 1994 Inflation Rate

LD2609100294 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0800 GMT 26 Sep 94

[Text] According to Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy premier and finance minister, inflation this year should not exceed 27 percent. Appearing on the Signals of the Day program this morning, Grzegorz Kolodko announced that this prognosis had been confirmed by estimates of last Saturday.

[Begin Kolodko recording] Government prognoses are that inflation will stay within 27 percent. We are talking here about the December to December indicator. We verified it again on Saturday, as there were some occurrences which could not have been foreseen. The drought this summer added one to two percent to our estimates. Prices of some fruits and vegetables have risen recently. [end recording]

Deputy Premier Kolodko also said that in his opinion inflation next year would be below 10 percent and in 1996 around 12 percent. Grzegorz Kolodko expressed the hope that before the end of this year President Walesa will sign the budget bill for next year. He added that he would like the government to approve the budget bill in October, and he wanted it to be submitted to the Sejm immediately afterward.

Reaction to Dismissals From Broadcast Council

Council Members Comment

LD2309201594 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Report on interviews with National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council members by unidentified correspondent]

[Excerpts] [Announcer Grazyna Bukowska] President Lech Walesa has recalled Marek Markiewicz and Maciej Ilowiecki from the posts of members of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council [KRRiT]. He has simultaneously requested the speakers of the Sejm and Senate to recall the remaining members of the council. The president claims the council has glaringly transgressed the law. The council, with the exception of Chairman Janusz Zaorski—who was appointed by Lech Walesa recently, feels the decision of the president is without legal basis. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The reason for the recall of two members of the council, nominated a year and a half ago by the president, is the ruling yesterday by the Supreme Administrative Court [NSA] on the issue of the PolSat broadcaster. The court expressed appreciation for the work of the council and rejected most of the accusations. It stated that the promise to grant additional frequencies contained in the PolSat concession was invalid.

[Lech Falandysz, presidential chancellery] Invalidity is a transgression of the law of the greatest sort. That is, it is something even more than a glaring transgression of the law; quite simply it is complete lawlessness.

[Stanislaw Piatek, KRRiT expert] The appropriate regulation of the Administrative Procedure Code states that invalidity is confirmed either on grounds of a glaring transgression of the law or on account of a lack of legal basis, either this basis or the other. And, from the verbal ruling yesterday, it did not transpire that the NSA found in the decision of the KRRiT a glaring transgression of the law.

[Correspondent] The Constitutional Tribunal ruled in May that a member of the KRRiT may be recalled for glaring transgressions of the regulations of the law that are, for instance, confirmed by the Tribunal of State, or else when a member of the council is sentenced by court verdict. The Tribunal acknowledged then that the law did not allow the president to recall Marek Markiewicz, then chairman of the council.

[Marek Markiewicz, KRRiT] For the second time, the law has clearly been transgressed on my person. The third time it will no longer have to do with me. That is why I appeal to all state bodies, the speakers of the Sejm and the Senate, the prime minister, the civil rights ombudsman, that they reply to the question of whether it

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is permissible to do this within this state. This no longer interests me, but so that it not be too late, for the third time this will, ladies and gentlemen, really be a greater affair altogether.

[Correspondent] The council does not agree with the decision of the president today. Marek Markiewicz and Maciej Ilowiecki said they will not obey the decision of the president, since it is lawless.

[Andrzej Zarebski, KRRiT] We are convinced that the verdict of the NSA has not created the basis for the recall of members of the KRRiT. The recall remains in contradiction with the stance of the Constitutional Tribunal and also does not take into account the content of the verdicts issued by the NSA yesterday.

[Correspondent] Only the new chairman of the KRRiT, Janusz Zaorski, abstained from voting on the adoption of the statement. In examining the documents of the council and its regulations, he discovered three, as he put it, doubts. For the time being, he did not wish to reveal any details.

[Janusz Zaorski, KRRiT chairman] One of these three doubts, one in a decisive way, witnessed to the transgression of the law on radio and television broadcasting.

[Correspondent] Both the speaker of the Sejm and other representatives of the coalitional majority do not see the possibility of the recall by parliament of the remaining members of the Council. [passage omitted]

Falandysz Interviewed

LD2309230794 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Interview with Professor Lech Falandysz, deputy head of the Presidential Chancellery by correspondent Bozena Targosz; date and place not given; relayed by TV Polonia Network—recorded]

[Text] [Targosz] It was being said in the parliament today that Lech Walesa's new candidates for the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council [KRRiT] are former Senator Edward Wende, General Witold Cieslewski, who has at his disposal all the military radio and television frequencies, Andrzej Drzycimski, and Adam Kinaszewski. Is that true, professor?

[Falandysz] Good evening madame, good evening ladies and gentlemen. I do not know that. On the other hand, I would like to clarify one thing. Here the gentlemen are very [word indistinct], there are many words of accusation. The KRRiT has evidently transgressed the law, and this is in the conclusion of the ruling of the Supreme Administrative Court [NSA], namely that this decision is in part an invalid one. What does an invalid decision mean? An invalid decision is such as has been issued, in this case, without a legal basis. Now, acting without a legal basis is something worse than a glaring transgression of the law, for a glaring transgression of the law is, indicates that someone has made an effort to keep to the law. [sentence as heard] Here the gentlemen acted altogether without a legal basis. It is true that this is just a part of the decision, and relates to some matter associated with PolSat, and in that sense it does not threaten anyone else. On the other hand, it is evidently a glaring transgression of the law, and this is a basis for recalling a member of the KRRiT. The president has acted completely legally.

On the other hand, I understand that defense, which is sometimes (a little) dramatic. Here lawyers are speaking who are completely disoriented. Well, I call Stanislaw Podemski [political commentator of the POLITYKA weekly] and Professor [name indistinct] to a discussion. We will discuss this.

[Targosz] The decision of the president is a controversial one. Do you not fear that it will be thought of as, be judged to be manipulation of, or else be considered a move on the very threshold of the law.

[Falandysz] This is a decision of the head of state, the resolve of the head of state, and there is no appeal from such a decision. That is the truth. In any case, Professor (Piatek) in a commentary to the law, one that the members of the council are very well aware of, writes that in essence there are no legal resources against such a decision. What legal road they start on, let them themselves consider, but they mix up all sorts of things here, the constitutional tribunal, that are neither here nor there. There is a glaring transgression of the law, in an extreme form, namely in the form of the issue of a decision that is in part, in part, completely without legal basis.

[Targosz] Professor, in the information service of the press office of the president [BPP] we read that the president justifies his decision through a negative evaluation of the activity of the council and its members. But this information nonetheless differs from the arguments that have been being repeated this morning.

[Falandysz] Not precisely, for that which has been confirmed by the NSA, and thus a judicial body—and thus a court has already confirmed this, no tribunal of state is required nor any other Tribunal, the NSA has confirmed this—this is the tip of the iceberg, for the council has allowed itself, in my view, other transgressions of the law as well, which were in fact not known to the court, for they related to other things. They related to regulations contrary to the law, a certain continuance of this lawlessness that the NSA acknowledged as lawlessness. Certain other, more minor things as well, such that this is an entire, gamut I think, of certain activities. The president has here behaved precisely in accordance with the law, for the NSA has confirmed, in part, that the council has allowed itself glaring lawlessness in the form of the issue of a decision without a legal basis. Quite simply, to put it metaphorically, extremely briefly, the gentlemen have run one bridge too far in their generosity toward PolSat. They did not have to give this much. This has been withdrawn. But this is enough. This does not threaten anyone who has

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a concession. On the other hand, the members of the KRRiT bear the consequences. Whether the Sejm and the Senate will do anything is nothing to do with us.

[Targosz] What will happen in the situation where some state body, the civil rights ombudsman, or a group of deputies let us say, queries the president's decision to the constitutional tribunal, and the tribunal acknowledges this decision to be not in accordance with the law?

[Falandysz] There is no, there is no such procedure. You see, these unfortunate lawyers who are giving statements about this here are muddling people up. The president's decision may not be queried. It is possible to address the constitutional tribunal with a request for it to give an interpretation, what does a glaring transgression of the law mean? Well, we know what a glaring transgression of the law means. The tribunal may give such an interpretation as to what, in its opinion, a glaring transgression of the law is. But I repeat again, this interpretation does not apply retrospectively. It will also apply only for the future. If the tribunal interprets beautifully what a glaring transgression of the law is, which is something that legal theory has not been able to cope with for many years now, then I will myself be exceptionally satisfied.

[Targosz] Why has the president taken this decision precisely now, at this moment?

[Falandysz] Well, because, because there was a verdict from the NSA. I will tell it to you this way: If this NSA verdict had been that it rejected the accusations in their entirety, all the accusations, then this would of course have been a statement that to the extent that The tribunal had familiarized itself with the case in hand the council is 100 percent, is acting 100 percent legally and according to the law. But unfortunately, there was no such verdict, for it confirmed the invalidity of the decision on a specified point and ruled on what this invalidity was based.

[Targosz] Thank you very much for speaking with us.

[Falandysz] Thank you very much.

Broadcasting Council Appeals

LD2409185394 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1520 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Sep—Six members of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council [KRRiT] have appealed to President Lech Walesa for the withdrawal of his decision recalling Maciej Ilowiecki and Marek Markiewicz from their posts as members of the council. They have proposed a meeting to the president, so as to clarify the purpose of the work of the council.

In their view, "this decision finds no legal or substantive justification" and they received it as "an attempt to destroy a constitutional state body." The members of the council, in stressing their activity is subject to "political and substantive inspection by the president in the framework of the procedures envisaged by the law," warn that they can, "just like the president, be held accountable by the Tribunal of State" for their errors.

The authors of the letter write that they have so far striven to inform the president of the activity of the council in the first instance. "We are ready at every moment for a meetings and a dialogue, so as to clarify the purpose of our work. This is all the more necessary since your legal advisers and the authors of denounciations of the National Council are leading you into error."

The letter is signed by: Lech Dymarski, Ryszard Miazek, Marek Siwiec, Boleslaw Sulik, Jan Szafraniec, Andrzej Zarebski.

Sejm Speaker Appeals

LD2409191494 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia in Polish]

[Excerpt] Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy has appealed to President Lech Walesa for him not to appoint new members of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council [KRRiT] in place of Marek Markiewicz and Maciej Ilowiecki, who were recalled yesterday. The civil rights ombudsman feels that members of the council can only be recalled when a court acknowledges that they transgressed the law on radio and television broadcasting in a glaring fashion. So far, there is no written justification to the verbal ruling of the Supreme Administrative Court, on the basis of which the president recalled Marek Markiewicz and Maciej Ilowiecki from the KRRiT.

[Unidentified correspondent] The Sejm speaker feels that if the president appoints new members of the KRRiT this will only sharpen the already existing conflict.

[Begin Oleksy recording] I can only address the president, and I do this for the second time, with a request that he withhold from the appointment of new members of the KRRiT until such time as the not inconsiderable legalities are clarified. [end recording]

[Correspondent] To a question as to whether the possible reaction of the Left Democratic Alliance [SLD] to Markiewicz's and Ilowiecki's recall, if it transpires to be a illegal one, might be a resolution for the impeachment of the president before the Tribunal of State, Speaker Oleksy replied:

[Begin Oleksy recording] This is not a question of the reaction of the SLD alone. This is a wider matter than just that of the behavior of one grouping. On the other hand, I have no doubt that the SLD, as a grouping that stands firmly on the basis of democracy and of a democratic and law abiding state of law [as heard], that it will have a clear stance on this matter. [end recording] [passage omitted]

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Melescanu, Government Support U.S. Envoy Decision

AU2309190494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] At the start of today's government meeting, Cabinet members expressed their views on the letter addressed by seven deputies and senators to the U.S. Senate. During the break in the cabinet meeting, Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu made the following statement to Romanian Radio and Television:

[Begin Melescanu recording] During today's meeting, the Romanian Government noted with surprise and regret the action taken by seven members of Parliament in connection with the appointment of the new U.S. ambassador to Bucharest, Romania. As you know, they have sent a message to the U.S. Senate. I would like to emphasize that all the members of the government—and I am stressing this point so as to emphasize that this also includes the ministers representing the Romanian National Unity Party—disapprove of this action and distance themselves from it, considering it a totally isolated incident in Romania's political-diplomatic tradition and also as an action that negatively affects our country's foreign interests and, in more general terms, Romania's image in the world.

As a matter of fact, it is known that the Romanian governmental authorities announced the Romanian Government's approval of the appointment of Mr. Alfred Moses as U.S. ambassador to Romania some two months ago. We express the hope that he will arrive in Bucharest very soon, where we are convinced he will act to further relations between Romania and the United States, which, in the Romanian Government's opinion, represent one of the most important foreign policy priorities.

I would also like to point out that, in a communique released today, the Social Democracy Party of Romania also rejected this gesture, which it qualified as "irresponsible," and affects Romania's national interests.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform all our listeners that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has given the necessary instructions that this position of the Romanian Government should be brought to the attention of the U.S. Administration in Washington. [end recording].

PDSR Communique on Letter on U.S. Ambassador

AU2309151694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] We have received a Party of Social Democracy of Romania [PDSR] communique signed by PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party] President Oliviu Gherman, in which the act of the leadership in backing the, quote, irresponsible action of the seven members of Parliament, unquote, even more incomprehensible and regrettable since this party is participating in the government and the Romanian Government has given its assent to Mr. Alfred Moses' accreditation as U.S. ambassador to Bucharest.

Thus, the understanding reached between the two parties to hold consultations on issues of particular importance has been violated, the communique reads, and it expresses regret that on a major issue of national interest, such as relations between Romania and the United States, the PUNR leadership did not use this mechanism and took a stand that places the PDSR into a situation that is not in accordance with its ruling program.

The PDSR calls on the PUNR to refrain in the future from gestures and actions that are at variance with the national interest and the Standing Delegation of the ruling party called on the PUNR leadership to hold an emergency meeting today in order both to clarify the position adopted by the Standing Bureau and to establish the necessary measures to avoid such situations in the future.

Another communique of the ruling party, also signed by Mr. Oliviu Gherman, condemns this action, which he considers completely irresponsible and at variance with all diplomatic rules and Romania's national interests. In its capacity as ruling party, the communique further reads, it finds disturbing that such an action takes place at a time when Romanian-U.S. relations are taking an upward course as a result of efforts made by both sides. It is no accident that the appeal was launched around the time of the forthcoming meeting between the presidents of Romania and of the United States, which confirms these good relations and opens up new vistas for Romanian-U.S. relations. In our view, the communique continues, these good relations between Romania and the United States are disturbing certain domestic and external forces interested in promoting a state of tension in our country and in this region. The PDSR expresses its belief that the U.S. Senate will not take into consideration this irresponsible action on the part of the signatories of the appeal and reaffirms that Mr. Alfred Moses is welcome as ambassador in Romania.

This morning, PDSR Vice President Ioan Solcanu said that the act of the PUNR senators is disquieting for the ruling party, both because of its timing and because of the support for this action by the PUNR, a party that is participating in government. Mr. Solcanu also announced that Father Archimandrite Simion Tatu, a PDSR senator and a signatory to the document, is to withdraw his signature, something that took place this morning and has been confirmed by the senator through a faxed document sent to our editorial office.

It is also noted that through this signature, the ruling party was in no way engaged politically, and the arguments that led him to join the appeal were of a moral and Christian nature, as a sign of solidarity with the suffering

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and sacrifice of the priests who fell victims in the sad years of dictatorship, which the appeal recalls.

After reflecting more thoroughly on the possible negative consequences on the evolution of Romania's diplomatic relations with the United States, Archimandrite and Senator Simion Tatu decided to withdraw his signature, convinced that the national interests must overcome certain personal feelings, as the fax reads.

On behalf of the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party], first deputy president of that party Ion Diaconescu also distanced himself from this act and affirmed that the adherence of a parliamentary deputy of this party is a personal act that does not represent the position of the PNTCD.

In a statement also made to our radio station by Democratic Party Spokesman Adrian Vilau and in a ROMPRES report containing the opinion of Executive Vice President Radu Berceanu, the representatives of that political party say that they believe that diplomatic practice is being violated and Romania's foreign relations might be prejudiced, the more so since President Ion Iliescu is preparing to pay a visit to New York and Washington, during which summit meetings will take place. The statement expresses regret that some opposition deputies have been attracted to this act and an appeal is being made for consensus among all the democratic forces that truly believe in the values of the modern world.

Mr. Dinu Zamfirescu, members of the Steering Committee of the Liberal Party '93 [PL '93] stated to our correspondent that this act in no way reflects the concepts of the PL '93, which rejects all chauvinistic, racist, and antisemitic opinions. He also mentions that Senators Dumitru Caluianu and Alexandru Popovici allegedly signed a text that was later modified and for their lack of sensitivity they will suffer the appropriate consequences.

PUNR's Gavra Defends Letter to U.S. Senate

AU2309160294 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Statement by PUNR Vice President Ioan Gavra; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] I consider the letter sent by some members of the Romanian Parliament to U.S. senators and principally to Senator Helms, a member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, which will conduct the hearing on Mr. Alfred Moses' candidacy for the position of ambassador to Romania, as a normal parliamentary action in a parliamentary democracy that has self respect, that is, in a real, genuine democracy, like America's democracy. Unfortunately in Romania, parliamentary democracy is manifested through explosive political demagogy.

To view this act in the spirit and letter of the Constitution, I believe that these senators and deputies who signed the appeal addressed to the U.S. Senate and the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and the action itself, are perfectly in line with the letter and spirit of the Constitution. Thus, the senators and deputies, as members of Parliament, cannot be called to account by anybody, not even by the parties to which they belong for the view that they expressed, which are certainly positions of a political nature. Thus, those who, on behalf of the parties and various leaders, declared something else, are outside the Constitution. Thus it is that sterile political demagogy is fashionable in Romania.

Fortunately, in the United States the Senate does not indulge in political demagogy, but organizes hearings in accordance with a traditional, genuine, and real parliamentary democracy. In Romania, this is in the process of being established, and let us hope that we will eventually reach a stage when Romania's Parliament, elected by the people, will decide in such cases.

Thus, I view the letter and the signal sent to the U.S. Senate exactly in the spirit of parliamentary practice. The letter is very proper and it is conceived exclusively on moral considerations. The two major problems mentioned in the letter refer to Mr. Alfred Moses' association with the Ceausescu regime and the Ceausescu couple, and these elements are in fact included in the documents of the U.S. Congress, which in the 1970-1980 period, more precisely on 10 June 1986, heard several representatives of Congress and the then U.S. ambassador to Bucharest, and certainly Mr. Moses in connection with what had been published in the U.S. press, that is, concealing serious acts of abuse against physical persons in Romania, actual crimes that took place in Romania and that we all know about during the Ceausescu regime. The accusations voiced at that time in the press and in the U.S. Congress hearing committees referred to the fact Mr. Moses attempted to conceal these very serious acts. In a book by the former U.S. ambassador to Bucharest, he very clearly proved that these acts did indeed take place, and that those horrible crimes against some Romanian priests—and not only against them but also against cultural and public individuals—took place during the Ceausescu regime. Thus, concealing these facts is a very serious matter. Thus the letter has a single consideration, namely the moral one, and I do not understand the political demagogy of certain parties, among them the usual position of the FSN [National Salvation Front] over the past four years, which compromises moral considerations with considerations of a political nature or other types of considerations. However, the position of other parties, mainly of the ruling party, with which we have a government protocol, has surprised me. To speak about irresponsible acts is a very serious matter, the language is vulgar, tougher than anything that I have heard so far in the political vocabulary of a party. Who can condemn the position of some members of Parliament? Only the Romanian people, those who elected them. Not the government, nor other parties, nor the presidency. This would mean a violation

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of the principles of a rule-of-law state and of parliamentary democracy. A member of Parliament cannot be called to account by anybody, not even by the parties that elected him, because this is stipulated in the Constitution and this is normal in a real, authentic parliamentary democracy.

PUNR-Backed Letter Linked to U.S. Visit

AU2309204194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] According to ROMPRES, Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor, president of the Greater Romania Party [PRM], said that the appeal of the six Romanian parliamentarians to the U.S. Senate, in connection with the Mr. Alfred Moses' appointment as U.S. ambassador to Bucharest, is a diversion aimed at compromising President Ion Iliescu's visit to the United States. The reason for the letter was assessed as "puerile" and the respective politicians were accused of political immaturity [words indistinct].

In a statement sent by fax to our editorial board, Mr. Adrian Paunescu, vice president of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], believes that the appointment of a U.S. ambassador to Romania is the affair of that country, not of Romania. Referring to the initiative of the seven parliamentarians, the PSM senator said that his impression was that the letter had a special goal, which is to the detriment of our country, and that the signatories of are not adverse to a possible deterioration in the Romanian-U.S. relations. Mr. Paunescu wishes Mr. Alfred Moses welcome to Bucharest.

Regarding the position of the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR], the vice president of that grouping, Mr. Constantin Carbunaru, considers the appeal of the Romanian parliamentarians as representing a personal viewpoint, which the U.S. Senate may or not take into consideration, and added that there is no law that forbids the parliamentarians to address themselves to a similar body in another country.

PL '93 Expels Signatories of Letter to Senate

AU2509143094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Today's session of the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration of the Liberal Party '93 [PL '93] decided to dismiss Senators Alexandru Popovici and Dumitru Caluianu from that political grouping.

In connection with that situation we requested a statement from Mr. Dinu Patriciu, chairman and leader of PL '93.

[Begin Patriciu recording] Unfortunately, over the past few days PL '93 has lived through some quite unpleasant moments, as two of the senators of the party, Senators Alexandru Popovici and Dumitru Caliuanu, have let themselves be deluded by representatives of the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party] who fraudulently used their signatures in the issuing of a nationalist, chauvinistic, and anti-Semitic document, namely the letter addressed to U.S. Senator Jesse Helms.

We regret that the senators fell victim to this deception intended to promote obscure political interests and we are certain that their signatures on that letter is at complete variance with their personal views. Nevertheless, their action has gravely damaged our party by associating its name with the extremist political right and by the association of our party with a chauvinist party, which—to the shame of our country—is ruling the country together with the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania].

Owing to those reasons the steering committee decided to submit to the conciliation and arbitration court of the party a motion regarding Senators Alexandru Popovici and Dumitru Caliuanu. The conciliation and arbitration court, which met this afternoon in an emergency session, decided, on the proposal of the steering committee, to exclude the two senators from among the members of our party.

As far as I am personally concerned, I regret and am saddened about what has happened, but I believe that such measures were necessary for the image of the party, and not merely that of our party, and I believe that what Romanian politicians have experienced over the past few days has stained Romania's image in the world. It's a pity. This is a diversion, the purpose of which must be found out over the next days, both by us and the press. [end recording]

This is the explanation offered to us by Senator Alexandru Popovici:

[Begin Popovici recording] Of course, our signatures were obtained from us fraudulently. Nevertheless, politicians must display a certain prudence and composure. Perhaps for the first time in my life I did not display sufficient composure.

I do not want this lack of composure on my part to harm the PL '93 in any way, as currently that party is the most dynamic and positive party in Romania. Therefore I declared, both during the meeting of the steering committee and that of the conciliation and arbitration court, that any measures that are taken should be political, so that the image of PL '93 would not be stained. [end recording]

Army Counterintelligence Head Views Mission

AU2309112594 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 13 Sep 94 p 3

[Interview with Major General Victor Negulescu, head of the Counterespionage Directorate of the Ministry of Defense, by Oana Maiuga and Doru Dragomir; place and date not given: "Major General Victor Negulescu, the Head of the Counterintelligence Direction of the

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Ministry of National Defense, Admits That Secrets Are Being Leaked From the Army to ROMANIA MARE"]

[Text] *Major General Victor Negulescu, the head of the Counterintelligence Directorate, is one of the best experts of the Romanian Army in the domain of intelligence work. After having represented Romania for over eight years as a military attache in Italy, immediately following the June 1990 tragic events [the miners' incursion in Bucharest], Maj. Gen. Victor Negulescu was appointed in one of the least rewarding offices at that time, namely as head of the Counterintelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Defense, an office that was to take over a part of the attributions and tasks formerly held by the 4th Directorate of the State Security Department.*

After having revived our military counterintelligence and having managed to initiate a number of specific actions, Maj. Gen. Negulescu has become an embarrassing figure for the persons who in 1991 were engaged in a struggle for power, namely Colonel General Victor Athanasie Stanculescu, the [then] minister of defense, Colonel General Vasile Ionel, the head of the Army Chief of Staff [currently President Ion Iliescu's military counselor], Lieutenant General Marin Pancea, the [then] head of the Intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense, and other persons. In January 1991 he was transferred to the Land Troops Command, while they appointed Maj. Gen. Decebal Ilina, an elite general of the Army, as head of the Counterintelligence Directorate. As soon as Generals Marin Pancea and Vasile Ionel were appointed to Cotroceni [Romania's presidency], the situation became more quiet, and the Army intelligence activity began to return to normal. The leadership of the Intelligence Direction of the Army was taken over by Maj. Gen. Paul Sarpe, the name of the body was changed to Direction of Reconnaissance [Direct de Cercetare], and the results of these changes began to show. In August 1993 the Ministry of Defense decided to castle, appointing Maj. Gen. Paul Sarpe as liaison officer of the Romanian Army to NATO and sending him to Brussels. At the same time Maj. Gen. Decebal Ilina is appointed head of the Direction of Reconnaissance, which was renamed the Directorate for Military Intelligence, while Maj. Gen. Victor Negulescu returns "home," as head of the Counterintelligence Directorate.

[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI] Mr. General, could you briefly introduce yourself?

[Negulescu] I was born in a village in Dambovita County.

I took up my military career when I was 18, a career that I came to like, and I have successively occupied command offices in the chief of staffs at various echelons, until I reached the office of deputy head of the Land Troops Chief of Staff.

For over eight months [as published] I worked as Romanian Army, Air Force, and Navy attache appointed to the Italian Government.

In the month of June 1990 I was given the difficult task of setting up the Counterintelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Defense, which I led until January 1991, when I was transferred to a command office. I returned to the leadership of the aforementioned institution in the month of August 1993. Being a soldier, I am a consequent follower of military discipline and order and of jobs well done.

I have a son, who is married, and a pretty little granddaughter, I mean, I am a grandfather. Somehow I never seem to have sufficient time to dedicate to my family or other family-related things.

[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI] Could you tell us what your day to day activity consists of? What are the goals pursued by the direction you are leading?

[Negulescu] Generally speaking, our day to day activity is quite similar, from many points of view, to that of the majority of the cadres of the Romanian Armed Forces.

I am not a romantic man, nor do I feel any temptation to say that all I do, the whole day long, is "fight terrible battles with spies."

What I should, perhaps, emphasize here is the detailed work I do each day together with the officers under my orders in finding, sorting, and checking pieces of information, without any feelings of passion, hatred, or revenge, but with a great deal of professionalism.

No matter what you do, such an activity cannot be carried out within a set daily schedule, let us say between 0730 and 1530 each day, after which we can all go home, or rest at home on Saturdays and Sundays.

Be it hard or easy, fascinating or not, but based, however, on a great deal of mental alertness, the life of the counterintelligence officers becomes gratifying and passionate when the satisfying results of their work begin to appear, with the restriction, however, that normally such joy has to be kept private.

In connection with the second part of your question I would like to point out that the principal task in the activity of the Counterintelligence Directorate is to recognize, reveal, prevent, and counter the actions exerted by intelligence services or other groupings against the Armed Forces, as well as of the deeds that may be qualified as a threat for the combat and acting capacity of our forces.

In other words, military counterintelligence represents the specialized body of the Ministry of Defense, an appropriate and dynamic structure, of fighting the agents of foreign intelligence services, as well as all internal or external hostile elements, who, by the actions they undertake, could affect the combat capacity or the stability of our military bodies.

[Text] The specific actions of the Counterintelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Defense are strictly regulated by our current laws, namely the Law on Romania's

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National Defense, by military rules and regulations, from which all attributions and tasks may be derived with a view to which this unit has been set up.

The activity of the direction is strictly limited to the military body, to its intelligence protection.

I also have to add that while carrying out its activity, the workers of the Counterintelligence Directorate are not constantly "bumping" into the employees of other state bodies in charge of state security issues, by indulging in "parallel actions." The Counterintelligence Directorate has correct cooperative relations with those bodies both regarding the documentation of certain concrete cases, and in the achievement of an exchange of operative information, an activity that we assess as beneficial and useful.

[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI] Mr. General, in your capacity as head of the Counterintelligence Directorate, did you carry out any investigations regarding the leaking of secret military information to the daily ROMANIA MARE [official weekly of the Greater Romania Party]? If so, is it true that you forwarded a report on your findings to Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca?

[Negulescu] As is known, the Armed Forces represent the backbone of our national defense system, and by its specific nature it is the holder of a volume of pieces of information that are vital for the defense of the country, as well as of important human and material values that ought to be protected. As a consequence of this, it is only natural that we should take specific measures whenever we are confronted with a leak of secret military information.

In the case brought up by you, I have to mention the fact that in our capacity as a body subordinated to the minister of national defense, it is our duty to report to him all the cases of information leaking investigated by us, in order to take all necessary steps to curb the leaking.

Unfortunately, our investigations showed that certain information was passed on to certain papers as a consequence of the [military's] adopting the stance of "openness without any limits," in the name of a wrongly conceived or interpreted democracy, deeds that represent a grave error by the persons in question.

I would also like the journalists to bear the aforementioned things in mind, especially when they publish articles containing military information in the pages of large-circulation dailies and weeklies.

In connection with the case you mentioned, I have to repeat that the Counterintelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Defense is not authorized to investigate information leaks that happen outside the Ministry of Defense, the way certain publications falsely claimed.

Besides, I would also like to mention the fact that certain pieces of information that were published by the press have obviously been distorted on purpose, and thus have a low degree of credibility, owing to which one cannot rule out the possibility of their actually wishing to intoxicate or mislead the readers.

You, as journalists working for the Secret Services department of your daily, ought to examine all the information you receive and try to sort it out.

[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI] In connection with the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] report on the 1989 December events, when do you think it will be fully completed?

[Negulescu] As you may know, the Counterintelligence Directorate was founded much later, in 1990, to fill the vacuum created when they dissolved the former Directorate for Military Counterintelligence.

Should the bodies authorized to elucidate the events of that period ask us to furnish them with data or other information that we hold and which could be of interest to them, we would, of course, offer them the things they need.

However, we will not stay idle if certain military cadres are involved in those events, if this could negatively influence the state of spirit of the armed forces personnel. This is a very delicate issue, which will have to be examined and judged with a great deal of attention, as it could easily turn into a dangerous precedent for the way the armed forces carry out their constitutional tasks in the future.

[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI] How do you comment on the action undertaken by those two military attaches who were caught shooting pictures in the vicinity of a military unit close to Buzau?

[Negulescu] There are also military attaches accredited to Romania whose mission is to support the fostering of relations with the armed forces of the countries they represent.

It is unanimously accepted that their mission is to inform, nevertheless, by using exclusively legal means, but—considering their specific training as professional intelligence officers—the means and methods by which they obtain certain information do not always comply with the stipulations of international conventions and customary laws. As a consequence of this, in certain situations, by the steps we take, we have to counter their information-gathering actions.

I do not know which picture-shooting operation you refer to, as that military unit has been the target of surveillance operations on behalf of several foreign diplomats. However, in connection with this issue I can tell you that one should not associate military counterintelligence work with the work of the police, as the latter presupposes the use of force to catch and arrest the culprits.

The activity of discovering and proving the violation of legal norms by foreigners is a very delicate one and it is

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carried out by specific ways and methods that may not always be divulged. To indulge in discussions and polemics on this issue would be tantamount to my renouncing my function as a counterintelligence officer.

We consider it only normal that not the whole volume of information regarding the aforementioned aspects is meant for the public.

[Text] However, this has made certain foreign diplomats' interest grow to find out about the concrete stage reached by us in the restructuring and reorganization of the Armed Forces, as well as about certain confidential figures and pieces of information.

Under such circumstances we believe that it is only normal and mandatory that our specialized structures should take all necessary steps to be able to identify, control, and evaluate such information-gathering actions in the military domain, without any intent to make public either the steps they take or their results.

[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI] Could one safely say that over the past years espionage activities have intensified on Romania's territory? If this is the case, would you disclose a concrete case solved by you, which may be made known to the public?

[Negulescu] On the basis of the data and information we currently possess my answer to your question is affirmative. The current circumstances of legislative vacuum, the lack of experience of our cadres, and the impact of the reorganization of the military counterintelligence, favored the carrying out of espionage activities on the territory of Romania.

Since you want me to give you an example of a solved case, why do you not consult the publications referring in detail to the case of former officer Dan Cristache, who passed on information with military content to the agent of a foreign intelligence service.

To conclude, I would like to emphasize the fact that the strength of the counterintelligence body I am leading depends, above all, on the professional expertise of the cadres who took up this career, on the confidence and support given to them by the army commanders and personnel, who out of conviction and patriotic feelings are acting to protect and defend the human and material assets of the Romanian Armed Forces.

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Gen. Mladic Threatens 'Retaliation' for Airstrike

LD2309221294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2124 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—Retaliation for yesterday's NATO airstrike on Serb positions around Sarajevo will follow, the commander of the main headquarters of the Bosnian Serb republic army, Colonel General Ratko Mladic, told Serb Radio Television in Pale this evening, SRNA reports.

He stressed that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina "has sided completely with NATO, although the Serbs are in no way jeopardizing their peace mission, NATO alliance, or any member of the alliance that has not sent troops to the region."

Mladic told the peace forces "to suspend such crazy actions" against the Serb people, SRNA's report says.

Mladic on NATO-UN Link

LD2409005694 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2150 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Interview with Ratko Mladic, commander of the Srpska republic army, by unidentified correspondent in Pale on 23 September—recorded; first paragraph is announcer's introduction]

[Text] After all sorts of speculations on Ratko Mladic's fate, we can tell you this evening that the Serb general is alive and planning to continue work on achieving his own, Karadzic's, and Milosevic's greater-Serbian aims. Mladic appeared in an interview broadcast on TV from Pale and commented on the air strike and his disappearance from the public. Here is Ratko Mladic, somewhat paler than we are used to seeing him, while touring his troops on the battlefields of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Correspondent] Mr. General, there has been yet another attack by NATO aircraft. It certainly did not have a military impact, but it had certain political connotations, as they are somehow becoming accustomed to bombing the Serbs.

[Mladic] Unfortunately, NATO alliance and high-ranking UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] officers—who also showed by doing this that they are NATO officers, not officers of the peace forces—decided to launch a crazy action against civilians in the Srpska republic. We issued an adequate statement which we will implement fully. We will respond by attacking a suitable target at a time we choose.

[Correspondent] Does that mean that our antiaircraft weapons are ready and that they can be used any time we like?

[Mladic] I am not talking only about action against enemy air force, but also about action against those who ordered the strike against Serb civilian targets without any apparent reason. I can say frankly now that of all high-ranking UN officers, only two were real men and carried out their duties dutifully: Gen. Satish Nambiar and Gen. Briquemont. The current UNPROFOR leaders have sided completely with NATO. They probably want to be the first NATO units in the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Correspondent] The latest Muslim offensive on almost all lines of separation—from northwest to Herzegovina—is continuing. They are obviously well armed, there is no arms embargo, and they have decided to make a radical turnabout on all parts of the battlefield.

[Mladic] I think that with good guidance from their sponsors who pushed them into the war they are hoping that some foreign forces—either the NATO alliance or some other formation—will achieve their war aspirations. However, such hopes are in vain. They do not and will not stand any chance against the Srpska republic army. I think that a way out is not in further war, but in extinguishing war, forever here and everywhere else on the planet.

[Correspondent] Madlaine Albright [U.S. representative to the United Nations] also spoke in favor of war today when she said that there would be further strikes against Serb targets.

[Mladic] Unfortunately, I cannot understand that a lady can be as militant as Mrs. Albright. She has made similar statements over the past three years, but I do not think that such statements and such behavior can bring any happiness either to her or to her country.

[Correspondent] On the other hand, your appearance on TV has made the Serb people and Serb fighters, as there have recently been rumors that you were wounded. Muslims, indeed Croats, have even reported that you were killed. You are alive and well.

[Mladic] I am a little bit surprised that the Croats believed Muslim propaganda, while the Muslims usually say that I was either wounded or killed when they are suffering on battle fronts. They probably count on the fact that this will have negative consequences on our army and our people. However, I am in one piece, in good health, and ready to do my job. Our people have nothing to worry about. We know our tasks and obligations and we keep on going.

International War on Serbs

LD2409223094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2158 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—The commander of the main headquarters of the Srpska republic army, Colonel General Ratko Mladic, has said that the UN resolution imposing sanctions on the Srpska republic "does not come as a surprise, because it is only one in a series of the international community's pressures," SRNA reports.

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"The international community has sided with the Serbs' enemy from day one and together they are waging war against the people of the Srpska republic," Gen. Mladic told [Bosnian] Serb Television in Sarajevo this evening.

According to Gen. Mladic, the world will sooner or later have to acknowledge the opinion and the standpoints of the Serb people in the Srpska republic, treating it as an equal nation on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, SRNA reports.

UN Safety Not Guaranteed

LD2509123994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1139 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Srpska republic army, today warned UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Commander Gen. Bertrand de Lapresle of the danger of unprovoked NATO strikes on the Srpska republic and its population.

Mladic warns Lapresle in a letter that because of the latest crime committed by the NATO air force (the attack on the village of Dobrosevic) the Srpska Republic army cannot assume responsibility for UNPROFOR's activity in the Srpska republic. [sentence as received] "Please do not plan any actions until you have convinced us of your forces' complete neutrality in their peace orientation," Mladic says in his letter and demands that the UNPROFOR commander take positive steps in the UN Forces' activities toward the Srpska republic and its population over the next two weeks.

Mladic claims in his letter to Lapresle that there is much evidence of UNPROFOR's bias and the violation of the peace forces' mandate which, he says, are more and more often losing their peacekeeping character. He adds that UNPROFOR units "are either by accident or deliberately provoking and causing incidents with the Srpska republic army."

The Srpska republic army commander points out that NATO aircraft destroyed a school and several houses in the village of Dobrosevic. Mladic asks: How can the Serb people's confidence in the peace forces, whose authority relies on NATO bombers, be restored after that and similar criminal attacks?

UNPROFOR on Alert as Apology Deadline Passes

AU2409205594 Paris AFP in English 2017 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Sept 24 (AFP)—UN forces throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina were placed on alert Saturday after a Bosnian Serb deadline passed for the UN to apologize for ordering NATO airstrikes against Serb forces, a UN spokesman said.

Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic telephoned the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] here at 8:00 p.m. Friday to demand an apology for a NATO airstrike Thursday [23 September] against a Serb T-55 tank inside the Sarajevo heavy weapons exclusion zone, UNPROFOR spokesman Major Herve Gourmelon said. "He said that he wanted, in a timeframe of 24 hours, that UNPROFOR send him a letter apologizing for the airstrike," said Gourmelon. "The threat by Mladic was not specific, only the timeframe," he said.

Sarajevo sector commander General Andre Soubirou had written to Mladic justifying the airstrike, said the spokesman, but there had never been any question of UNPROFOR apologizing the strike, which was ordered after UN troops were targetted in three separate attacks by Serb forces. [passage omitted]

Gourmelon said UN forces throughout the former Yugoslav republic had been placed on yellow alert as a precautionary measure following the expiry of the Mladic deadline.

Krajisnik Threatens To Blockade Muslims, Croats

LD2509125294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the Srpska republic, said that the Security Council decision to tighten the sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs "is a very heavy blow, directed against peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," SRNA reports.

Krajisnik stressed in a statement for SRNA in Pale last night that the Srpska republic's political representatives announced in their daily contact with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] civilian sector that after this resolution "the Srpska republic has no reason to take a benevolent view of UN forces." "If the UN forces are not objective, there is no reason for them to stay on Serb territory," Krajisnik added.

"We have to redeploy all of our resources for defense purposes, and in that event we have the right to resort to any means. If necessary, we will impose a blockade on the Muslims and Croats, and even UNPROFOR, in order to defend our people," the president of the Srpska republic people's assembly said.

Krajisnik reiterated that the Srpska republic would not sign the Contact Group's maps. "The maps can be discussed further only if they are improved or if a new solution is found," he said.

Serb-UN Relations 'Hit Rock Bottom'

AU2509183194 Paris AFP in English 1750 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Sept 25 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs threatened Sunday to shoot down planes using Sarajevo airport, a UN spokesman said, as a UN source said the latest crisis showed Serb-UN relations had hit rock bottom.

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UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Major Koos Sol said the Serb liaison officer to the UN Bosnia command had "threatened UN aircraft would be shot down if they tried to take off or land." The airport went onto yellow alert following the midday threat, said Sol, but stressed the airport remained open.

Sol, who refused to name the Serb officer concerned, described the threat as "low level," adding that "at this moment we are trying to ascertain whether it is a local initiative or from a higher level." [passage omitted]

Sol attempted to play down the Serb threat, saying the matter had been taken up with the Serb military authorities by UNPROFOR's liaison officer.

Brigadier-General Jan-Willem Brinkman, chief of staff of the UN's Bosnia command contacted Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladic by telephone Sunday said Sol, adding that "the feeling of the talk was that Mladic still protested the airstrike but that the heat was off." However, a well-placed UN official, who asked not to be named, said the threat showed "relations between UNPROFOR and the Serbs are at their lowest ever level at the moment," adding that the threat was "quite unexpected."

In Zagreb, a UN spokesman told AFP Sunday that French UN troops based in the Bihac enclave, in western Bosnia, had been targeted by Serb and Bosnian army forces for the past four days.

French battalion commander in Bihac Jean-Francois Philippe called for more NATO airstrikes on Serb and Bosnian army positions around the enclave, adding that after NATO planes flew overhead, the attacks on his men had stopped. There were no strikes. The hostility directed at the UN troops has not yet caused any casualties. Philippe said that the Otoka observation post, manned by UN troops in the UN-declared Bihac exclusion zone, has been bombarded by 10 to 15 82-mm mortars since last Thursday [22 September].

Philippe said he had no explanation for the Serb attacks on his men. "Unless they are trying to make us leave so as to launch a major operation against the Bosnians," Philippe said.

In return, the Bosnian Army shot 12.7-mm heavy artillery at the UN-staffed observation post of Miostra, in the south of the Bihac pocket looking over the Grabez plateau. "We think that this is a Bosnian Army attempt to provoke a NATO intervention against the Serbs," Philippe said.

Philippe said Polish UN soldiers based in Slunj, 60 kilometers (36 miles) south of Zagreb, were also the subject of Serb army attack. The small town is controlled by Croatian Serbs.

Philippe also said that Danish UN troops stationed in Croatian Serb territory near Sisak (50 kilometers (30 miles) east of Zagreb) had been disarmed by a Serb malitia Saturday.

Sarajevo Airport Remains Closed 26 Sep

AU2609102294 Paris AFP in English 0949 GMT 26 Sep 94

[Report by Jon Boyle]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Sept 26 (AFP)—Sarajevo airport was closed Monday [26 September] following a Bosnian Serb threat to shoot down aircraft attempting to use it, a UN spokesman said, as UN-Serb relations remained tense following a NATO airstrike against a Serb tank. Meanwhile gas supplies to the city were cut Monday less than a day after resuming, a civilian UN official said.

The UN-controlled airport was open, but no military or humanitarian aid aircraft were scheduled to fly in, said UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Lt.-Colonel Bernard Labarsouque. "The airport is open but there won't be any planes Monday," he said. "All flights today have been cancelled," he added.

The airport was on a state of yellow alert, he said, which meant the final decision on take-off or landing was left to the pilots. "It's more dangerous than usual but we can still land planes here," he said.

The airport has been effectively closed since Friday when two aircraft were hit by small arms fire on take-off. [passage omitted]

UN Intervention Opens Sarajevo Gas Network

AU2609103394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 94

[Text] Following intervention by the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], natural gas has started entering Sarajevo. The pressure in the gas network is rising and, if it continues to do so, all consumers will soon have regular supplies of gas.

Minister on Gas, Electricity Talks With Serbs

LD2509163694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Excerpt] We shall broadcast the remarks made by Minister Hasan Muratovic [minister without portfolio] to Bosnia-Herzegovina television's Mirza Sulejmanovic after talks at Sarajevo Airport today:

[Begin recording] [Sulejmanovic] Minister, we were told yesterday that steps would be taken today to restore the city's gas supplies. It is now 1400 [1300 GMT] and you have just returned from Sarajevo Airport where you have had talks with representatives of the Serb aggressor side. In other words, these were fresh talks. What were these talks about?

[Muratovic] It was agreed yesterday [words indistinct] how to restore the gas and electricity supplies. Regarding gas supplies, the agreement has been respected and at any moment we are expecting gas to come on stream in the city, but as for electricity supplies, the Serb side did

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not grant us permission to start work, because the decisionmakers on their side considered what was decided yesterday was not agreed to in a precise way in terms of some obligations that we have to carry out. Today we cleared this up and tomorrow I expect technicians will be permitted access so they can repair the electricity system.

[Sulejmanovic] Do you think the agreement will be respected this time?

[Muratovic] I believe it will be respected; we agreed to everything in detail. Apart from this, we are resuming talks on other problems such as [words indistinct]—many problems which will be resolved both concerning Sarajevo and in connection with other places in the republic. [end recording]

In keeping with the agreement reached at the talks at Sarajevo airport, natural gas supplies to Sarajevo will again be resumed today after a 10-day break. According to information from Sarajevo Gas, which we obtained just before 1200, technical preparations for turning the gas on are under way. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic To Ask U.S. for Help Lifting Embargo

LD2509215194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Text] The meeting between President Izetbegovic and President Clinton is expected to last one hour. President Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Silajdzic will tell the U.S. President and secretary of state in what way they can genuinely help the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina after Bosnia-Herzegovina's cooperation over the past three years. The dilemma whether the government in Sarajevo deserves the full support of the United States and whether it will ask for it in connection with the lifting of the arms embargo will be finally clarified.

We have learned that President Izetbegovic will demand such support from Bill Clinton and that he will inform the U.S. President about his forthcoming extensive diplomatic activities regarding the lifting of the arms embargo at the 49th regular session of the UN General Assembly which is the reason for his visit to New York.

Army Condemns UN Reporting of Airport Attack

LD2509154194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Text] In response to the NATO air strike on Karadzic's Serbs, the Serbs fired a 120-mm mortar shell at Sarajevo Airport a day after the air attack. Two days later high-ranking officers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps were briefed on all details of the incident at the very scene of the incident, Sarajevo Airport. After everything the 1st Corps representatives saw there, there is no doubt that the shell was fired from Ilidza in retaliation for the NATO airstrike. UNPROFOR's behavior is typical—it was only after two days that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army was briefed on the incident. The 1st Corps representatives are therefore openly voicing their concerns that UNPROFOR will blame the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army for the incident in order to protect itself from the announced retaliation of Karadzic's Serbs.

Serb Leader Cited on Sanctions Imposed by Belgrade

LD2409200794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1937 GMT 24 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 24 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb republic Premier Dusan Kozic said Yugoslavia's sanctions against Bosnian Serbs constituted a dreadful blow after which one could hardly stay on one's feet. Kozic told Radio Banje Luka on Saturday that the sanctions imposed by Belgrade on the Bosnian Serb republic affected especially the financial sphere of the republic's economy. "I am afraid that very soon, these days perhaps, we shall face the complete shortage of ready money in circulation, because the money on the accounts and in the funds of our firms simply goes for goods in Yugoslavia," said Kozic.

On August 4, Yugoslavia cut political and economic ties with the Bosnian Serbs whose leaders refused to accept the "Contact Group" map on the division of Bosnia. Yugoslavia closed its border with the Bosnian Serb republic for all transports other than humanitarian, primarily food and medicine. Before August 4, the Bosnian Serb republic was included in Yugoslavia's monetary system.

Kozic said the introduction of the republic's own currency was out of the question. He said his government would in no way jeopardize the current program of Yugoslavia's economic recovery. The steps Belgrade introduced against the Bosnian Serb republic, he said, were adversely affecting also the Serbian economy.

His government concentrated to ensure at least bare subsistence levels for its army and people, said Kozic. "I believe that in a month's time we may expect certain political changes for the better, and this will be our big triumph. Sustaining the imposed difficulties we believe we shall make the leaders of Yugoslavia change their stand toward the Serb republic," Kozic said.

Serbs Expel 150 Bosniaks From Doboj, Teslic

AU2309155794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Report by Mirudin Aldobasic]

[Text] The aggressor against our country is continuing to expel innocent people, particularly old folk, women, and children. The accounts by these newly expelled people—

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and from other people expelled from Bijeljina, Banja Luka, Prijedor, and other places—speak of criminals and terror against innocent Bosniak people. Horrified and stunned, with only one bag each, about 100 people from Doboj, and some 50 from Teslic found themselves on the free Tesanj territory after two and a half years of confinement.

These unfortunate expellees from Doboj and Teslic claim that able-bodied Bosniak Muslims under the age of 50 are still in the occupied cities of Doboj and Teslic, and have no hope of being freed. They are either on forced labor, or have been mobilized and sent to the Vozuca front.

Bosnian Serb, Krajina Presidents on Expulsions

LD2409192194 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] At their meeting in Bijeljina, Radovan Karadzic and Milan Martic, the presidents of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serb Krajina, and the bishops of Serbian Orthodox parishes on the territories of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serb Krajina, assessed as unacceptable all forms of pressure aimed at imposing unfavorable solutions of a state and political nature on the Serb states.

A statement from the meeting—also attended by Momcilo Krajisnik and Brnko Vojnica, speakers of the Srpska republic and republic of Serb Krajina parliaments—says that great satisfaction was expressed at the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the realization of the historic and spiritual interests of the Serb people in their traditional lands, and that a high degree of unanimity was attained on all major issues.

To this effect, the political leaderships of the two states and the dignitaries of the Serbian Orthodox Church called on the international community and entire Serb nation to contribute to a just end to the crisis and the establishment of peace, with full respect for international principles governing self-determination and the free association of nations. The international community was also demanded to fully guarantee the protection of the human, ownership, and other rights of the Serb people and their church in areas under Muslim and Croat control, with assurances that the Srpska republic will guarantee such protection to all people living on its territory. In this respect, all forms of expelling or detaining civilians in Bijeljina, Tuzla, Sarajevo, and other towns have been deplored.

These talks were preceded by a meeting between Serbian Orthodox bishops from the territories of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serb Krajina, who examined issues of interest to the church and the current situation in the two states.

Bosnian, Croatian Serbs Still Seek Unification

LD2309214094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] Bijeljina, 23 September (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, had a meeting in Bijeljina today with the deputies of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] in the People's Assemblies of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], at which it was concluded that the process of integration should continue in both western Serb states, SRNA reports.

The chairman of the party's executive committee, Velibor Ostojic, told SRNA that the SDS of Serb Lands "has not given up on its program aim of uniting all Serbs into a single Serb state."

Ostojic confirmed that the SDS of Serb Lands supports RSK President Milan Martic and added that cooperation "with all parties which contribute to political stability in the Serb republic and the RSK" would continue.

The meeting in Bijeljina was also attended by Momcilo Krasjisnik, president of the parliament of the Srpska republic, and Srpska republic Prime Minister Dusan Kozic.

Commander Predicts Escalated Muslim-Croat Conflict

LD2509190194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 25 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 25 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA on Sunday quoted a Muslim commander as saying that mounting Muslim-Croat tensions in Bosnia threatened to escalate the conflicts.

Commander Mehmed Alagic in the central Bosnian town of Travnik was quoted by SRNA as telling Radio Travnik that "conflicts may escalate any moment now" in a broad region of central Bosnia. Alagic said the "latest Croat forces attacks on our positions around Bugojno and the Croat refusal to take part in coordinated attacks on Serb positions around Konjic, clearly indicate that the Croats are playing a double game."

Last week in the central Bosnian townn of Bugojno the Muslim-Croat armed conflicts were renewed when Muslims barred Croat refugees from returning to Travnik where they were majority population before a war with Muslims broke out in the spring of 1993.

Alagic said that all accords on cooperation with Croat forces have failed so that Muslims could not go against Serb-held territories because they would have had hostile Croat forces in the rear.

Muslim Radio Sarajevo said Sunday that Croats around the central Bosnian town of Prozor were burning down the remaining Muslim houses to prevent the evicted

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Muslims from returning. The radio added that in the past five days seven Muslim houses in the villages of Duga and Lug near Prozor were burned down by Croat extremists who also tried to set fire to the only remaining mosque in the region.

The radio said the Croats in the Prozor region had destroyed 70 percent of the Muslim villages, driven out 7,000 Muslims, massacred 150 Muslim civilians. It added that 112 draft-age Muslims were listed as missing in Prozor where no more than 135 Muslims were living at this time.

The radio said that the Muslims' return to their homes was nowhere near as Croat representatives refuse to attend meetings of a mixed commission. The Croat side apparently wanted the Muslim-Croat constitution implemented only in the Muslim army-controlled territories, not in those under Bosnian Croat control, the radio quoted Muslim negotiator Salih Hadzic as saying.

Muslim refugees from Prozor said peace would not return there unless all refugees came back if not peacefully than by force the radio said.

Tensions between Muslims and Croats in central Bosnia have not abated although last March, following fierce one-year conflicts, they signed an agreement, under strong pressure from Washington, on their joint federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Leader Wants Croat Municipalities in Muslim Areas

LD2509183394 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Dispatch by Herceg-Bosna Radio correspondent Boro Bosnjak from Grude]

[Excerpt] Following a five-hour discusstion at today's Electoral Assembly of the Grude HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], 13 members of the municipal party committee were elected, as well as a new supervisory five-member committee. The assembly was attended by Dario Kordic, Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ president, and its Vice Presidents Bozo Rajic and Jozo Maric.

In his address, Mr. Dario Kordic said that the basis for the survival of Croats living in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army-controlled parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the establishment of their own municipalities and the setting up of instruments and bodies of local self-administration. [passage omitted]

Muslim Offensive Resumes in Mostar, Konjic Areas

LD2509192894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Excerpts] Bileca, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The fierce Muslim offensive directed toward Lake Borci [Boracko Jezero, north of Mostar and east of Konjic] and Nevesinje [Serb-held town east of Mostar] resumed today with renewed strong attacks on Serb positions and villages in the area, the command of the Bosnian Serb Herzegovina Corps said this evening.

The main thrust of the Muslim infantry attack was directed against the Serb village of Borci near Konjic and the elevation of Kiser. [passage omitted]

Around 1700, the Muslims launched a howitzer attack on the Kalinovik area from Odzak and Argut. Only civilian targets were shelled. However, we have received no reports on civilian casualties.

Radio Reports Heavy Fighting in Bihac Pocket

LD2509144794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Text] Fighters in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps are repelling strong attacks on their defense lines today. Aggressor soldiers have been attempting a strong infantry breakthrough, supported by artillery on the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau since this morning, and have been shelling the Cazin, Bosanska Krupa, and Bihac areas.

Several civilians have been seriously and slightly wounded and material damage is extensive, Mirza Sadikovic reports. All of these attacks are being launched by Karadzic's chetniks, but....

[Begin Sadikovic recording] Martic's chetniks [Krajina Serbs] are not sitting around idle: they are constantly provoking artillery and infantry clashes on the Buzim and Kladusa front, and bringing in reinforcements in the 5th Corps operational zone. [end recording]

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Chamber Votes To End UNPROFOR Mandate

LD2309222194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] Shortly before midnight the Croatian Assembly's Chamber of Deputies unanimously accepted a resolution on the mandate of the protection forces in the Republic of Croatia. Zoltan Kabok reporting.

[Kabok] After a debate on the proposal put forward by the commission, the Chamber of Deputies unanimously approved the text of the resolution whereby the current UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate on the territory of the Republic of Croatia is considered terminated.

The Republic of Croatia is prepared to sign an agreement on a possible conditional and technical extension of the peace forces' mandate on the territory of the Republic of Croatia for the next 100 days if the UN Security Council passes a resolution containing provisions that would really ensure the implementation UNPROFOR's mandate in the Republic of Croatia.

The resolution puts a particular stress on the demand that part of the so-called Sector West should immediately be excluded from the UN protected areas, but if these demands are not met by 10 January 1995, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia will consider UNPROFOR's mandate on the territory of our country definitely ended.

The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia believes that the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot be eased before the FRY recognizes the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders. The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia also recommends to the president of the republic and requests from the government to coordinate talks with UNPROFOR with the resolution unanimously approved by the Croatian Assembly.

After a two-day debate and speeches by 64 deputies, Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, stressed in response to individual questions that no one was happy with the current peace forces' mandate. Granic went on to say that the 100-day deadline was enough for the international community to define its political platform. We have the right to demand that the occupied areas be reintegrated in that period, Granic said, and added that the fundamental political option for the reintegration is the Constitution, the constitutional laws, and the president's peace initiative [as received].

The Croatian foreign minister confirmed that President Tudjman would meet U.S. President Bill Clinton at 1200 New York time on Monday 26 September. They will discuss the situation in the occupied areas.

Speaking at the end of the session, Granic said: Unless we obtain guarantees for the reintegration of the occupied areas, there is no reason for the Republic of Croatia to extend UNPROFOR's mandate, but that is a big challenge and responsibility that all of us must share, Granic said in conclusion.

The session of the Croatian Assembly's Chamber of Deputies will be resumed at 1000 on Tuesday 27 September.

Further on Assembly Decision

LD2409011494 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2150 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Report by Katja Kusec]

[Excerpt] Late this evening the deputies of the Croatian Assembly unanimously approved a resolution under which the current UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate on the territory of the Republic of Croatia is considered terminated.

The resolution goes on to say that the Republic of Croatia is ready to negotiate Unprofor's conditional and technical mandate on its territory for the next 100 days if the (UN) Security Council passes a resolution containing provisions really enabling the implementation of their mandate.

In addition, the Croatian Assembly demands the following: One, the disarmament and departure of all armed groups in the occupied areas of its territory; two, the return of all refugees; representatives of the Association of Refugees had an opportunity to take the floor in the Assembly today, as well as a representative of prisoners and missing persons. The Croatian Assembly also demands guarantees for the protection and safety for all people who lived in the currently occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia before the aggression.

Under item four, the Croatian Assembly demands the immediate establishment of authority of the Republic of Croatia in the so- called pink zones, and following that in all currently occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia in line with its Constitution and the constitutional law on human rights and freedoms and the rights of ethnic communities or minorities.

Under item five the Croatian Assembly demands the establishment of an effective control of the borders of the Republic of Croatia with Serbia and the part of Bosnia-Herzegovina controlled by the paramilitary units of the Bosnian Serbs.

In addition to the above, the Croatian Assembly places particular stress on the demand that sector west—which at the time of Unprofor's arrival in the Republic of Croatia was under the control of the authorities of the Republic of Croatia—should immediately be excluded from the UN protected areas.

If the above mentioned demands are not met in the specified period—10 January 1995—the Assembly of

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the Republic of Croatia will consider Unprofor's mandate on its territory as definitely finished. [Passage omitted]

'Text' of Resolution

LD2409154494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] The Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution late last night on the mandate of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] after two days of debate initiated by a speech by Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. Sixty-four deputies took part in the debate. The text of the resolution, addressed to the president of the Republic of Croatia, the government, the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, was read out in the chamber by Luka Bebic:

[Begin recording] The current UNPROFOR mandate on the territory of the Republic of Croatia cannot be extended and is considered terminated.

Secondly, the Republic of Croatia is prepared to negotiate the conditional and technical mandate of UNPROFOR on the territory of the Republic of Croatia for the next 100 days provided that the UN Security Council passes a resolution which contains provisions for the real implementation of the UNPROFOR mandate in the Republic of Croatia as follows:

1. The disarmament and disbanding of all armed groups in the occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia.

2. Facilitation of the safe return of all displaced persons.

3. The guarantee of protection and safety for all people who prior to the Serb aggression lived in the currently occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia.

4. Facilitation of the immediate establishment of the authority of the Republic of Croatia in the so-called pink zones and subsequently, in all currently occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia in line with the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia and the constitutional law on human rights and freedoms and the rights of ethnic communities or minorities.

5. The establishment of effective supervision of the internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Croatia with Serbia and the part of Bosnia-Herzegovina controlled by the paramilitary units of the Bosnian Serbs.

In addition to the above demands, we particularly stress the demand that the part of the so-called Sector West, which at the time of the arrival of UNPROFOR in the Republic of Croatia was under the control of the authorities of the Republic of Croatia, be excluded from UN protected areas.

If the above undertakings under points two and three are not met in the specified period, that is by 10 January 1995, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia will consider the UNPROFOR mandate on the territory of the Republic of Croatia definitely terminated.

Fifth [as heard], the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia considers unacceptable either the easing or lifting of sanctions against the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the FRY—Serbia and Montenegro—until it recognizes the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders.

And sixth, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia recommends to the president of the Republic of Croatia and calls on the Government of the Republic of Croatia to coordinate talks on the possible extension of the UNPROFOR mandate in the Republic of Croatia with the demands stated in this resolution." [end recording]

President Tudjman, Delegation Leave for New York

LD2509112794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Text] A Croatian delegation led by President Franjo Tudjman left this morning for New York to attend a session of the UN General Assembly. President Tudjman is expected to meet with world statesmen, including U.S. President Bill Clinton. Before departure President Tudjman said before his departure at Zagreb airport that he expected a greater understanding of Croatian views and more determined steps by the international community toward UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] mandate. Our requests will be within the frame of our past views and the Croatian parliament's recommendations, President Tudjman said. Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and advisers Branimir Jaksic and Zeljko Matic also went to New York with President Tudjman.

Tudjman Links Krajina With Serbia Sanctions

LD2609095094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Sep 94

[Text] After arriving in New York, Croatian President Tudjman said the Croatian delegation will present the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council with demands in line with the Croatian Assembly's resolution on the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia. He said that so far our allies have assured us that they will support our demand for the lifting of sanctions against Serbia to be closely linked to resolving the issue of the occupied areas in Croatia. The problem now—if the Security Council and the international community agree on the gradual lifting of sanctions against Serbia—is how to make the Bosnian Serbs abandon the idea of merging with and giving support to the Serbs in Knin [Croatia], President Tudjman said. He also said Croatia is not going to make any move that will incite a further flare-up of the conflict but at the same time it will not just watch passively as Serbia is rewarded for being prepared to accept a peaceful resolution. As far as this is concerned we will be firm, President Tudjman said. He said that

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proposals on the federalization or confederalization of Croatia are unacceptable and that guarantees of ethnic and civil rights for Croatian Serbs can be the basis for a solution.

Martic Says UN Rejects RSK at UNGA Session

LD2409200394 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] The UN administration has rejected a proposal put forth by Milan Martic, the president of the republic of Serb Krajina, on the participation of a Serb Krajina delegation in the 49th session of the UN General Assembly [UNGA], despite the fact that the agenda includes a debate on the Croatia-Krajina dispute, says a statement for the public issued today by the office of Slobodan Jarcevic, the Serb Krajina president's foreign policy advisor.

President Martic based his request on article six of the UN Charter, according to which internationally unrecognized states may put forth proposals and resolve disputes with other states in UN bodies, Jarcevic said, and added that the UN secretary general had not found it necessary even to respond to this request from the president of the republic of Serb Krajina.

The Croatian lobby in New York managed to work out that the Krajina-Croatia dispute be defined in the agenda of the 49th UNGA session as the problem of the occupied territories of Croatia, which is only a seeming victory of theirs, because Russia, France, and Great Britain had serious objections to such a formulation and demanded that the name of this point be more in tune with reality.

Party Official on Unification of Serb Regions

LD2309190394 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting between the club of deputies of the Serbian Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDSSL] in the People's Assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina and a number of deputies of the Assembly of the Serb republic was held in Bijeljina today. The meeting was also attended by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic; Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of the Serb republic; and Velibor Ostojic, chairman of the executive committee of the SDSSL.

According to Ostojic, the meeting was devoted to the cooperation between the SDSSL and other parties, joint activities in alleviating the consequences of the sanctions imposed on the Serb people in the Serb republic by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and possibilities for the Serb lands to unite. Here is what Mr Velibor Ostojic stated following the talks:

[Begin Ostojic recording] The SDSSL has not given up on unification of a common Serb national state. We are only looking for the moment, speed, and mode to implement this fundamental SDSSL program principle, that is, which timetable to follow and in what way to do it. Also, at the meeting today, we spoke about what the SDSSL was doing to realize this goal and discussed where we are now. We have agreed that the SDSSL should insist, with both the executive and legislative authorities in both Serb states west of the Drina and the Danube, on proceeding with further integration of life and the merger of both republics in all segments, which will make the realization of this goal in the final phase more easily. [end recording]

Serb Krajina Army: Croatians Violate Cease-Fire

LD2309161194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—Sources close to the General Staff of the Serb Krajina Army announced today that the Croatian Army had entered the separation zone in Turanj near Karlovac with 16 trucks and around 200 soldiers, thus increasing the overall number of Croatian Army troops and police to over 300 with eight armored vehicles.

The same sources said this represents the crudest violation of the Zagreb cease-fire agreement signed in March this year, according to which the Croatian Army has the right to have up to 75 police in the entire Sector North, provided UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is previously notified about it.

UNPROFOR confirmed the report on the Croatian Army incursion into the separation zone near Turanj, ISKRA [Krajina news agency] reported.

The intention of the Croatian Army, the same sources say, is to put pressure on the Republic of Serb Krajina, and also to act against the west Bosnian refugees.

"If the Croatian Army crosses into the Serb-held part of the separation zone, the Serb Krajina Army will start armed actions, as this would represent the annulment of the cease-fire agreement," the same sources said.

The chairman of the central Krajina commission for the implementation of the cease-fire agreement, Major General Mile Novakovic, sent a demand to UNPROFOR to force the Croatian Army to withdraw.

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Peterle Says Dialogue With WEU Begun

AU2409142194 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] After talks today with the chairman of the Western European Union [WEU], Netherlands Ambassador van Endal [name as heard] and WEU Secretary General Willem van Eekelen, Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle said that Slovenia today opened a political dialogue with the WEU that could help it to attain associate membership. Peterle also expressed hope that such consultations will be established as regular meetings at ministerial or ambassadorial level.

The WEU secretary general said that the most important thing now is to develop bilateral relations between Slovenia and this military organization.

In the afternoon, Minister Peterle left for Brugges, where he will meet the mayor and local businessmen. Tomorrow he will leave for New York to attend the UN General Assembly session.

GATT Votes Approval of Country's Membership

94P21216A Ljubljana DVEVNIK in Slovene 13 Sep 94 p 32

[Unattributed article: "Slovenia To Join GATT at End of Month"]

[Text] Geneva, 13 Sep — Ake Linden, assistant to the GATT director general, informed the Slovene permanent mission in Geneva that, as of yesterday, Slovenia received from the GATT members a two-thirds majority of votes needed for accession to the Agreement of 1947. The protocol on Slovenia's accession to GATT 1947 will be signed in Geneva on 27 September by Dr. Davorin Kracun, minister for economic relations, and GATT Director General Peter Sutherland, tentatively.

Kacin-Lead Defense Delegation Visits UK

94P21200A Trieste REPUBLIKA in Slovene 11 Sep 94 p 3

[Report by Alja Kosak: "Kacin Visiting Great Britain"]

[Excerpts] London—During his official visit to Great Britain, Slovene Defense Minister Jelko Kacin met with Roger Freeman, minister for defense procurement, at the British Defense Ministry. They discussed different topics. However, as Slovenia is included in the arms embargo, which bans arms exports to the former Yugoslavia, the emphasis was on clarification of the Slovene position that the arms embargo represents an antiquated and unjust position toward Slovenia. This statement elicited considerable understanding from the British host. [passage omitted]

During their visit to Great Britain, the Slovene delegation wanted to offer British firms the opportunity to participate in the bidding process, which has or will have been opened by the Slovene Defense Ministry. "This will enable us to choose among as many offers as possible, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to order the best quality equipment. In this way, the money invested in our defense system will be spent most economically," Minister Kacin explained.

The Slovene delegation also visited the large Farnborough international air show 1994. Minister Kacin stressed, however, that they not only visited potential manufacturers and suppliers but also familiarized themselves with the practical application of aviation technology.

The British Defense Ministry invited the Slovene delegation to visit several air bases and view some of the latest systems that respond to Slovene defense needs. Two Slovene pilots tested the British Hawk trainer aircraft.

At the conclusion of his visit in London, Minister Kacin stated: "We were very favorably received. The British side expressed the desire to meet at the highest level. The hosts said that they will personally intercede and directly protect our interests. The future will tell how much of it will materialize. The Slovene Defense Ministry has opened the bidding process and potential suppliers are waiting for the green light to submit their bids.

Government Includes SFRY Debt Service to Italy

AU2309192294 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] We have already reported that at its session yesterday, the Slovene Government discussed our relations with the Republic of Italy. What is involved are compensation that the Slovene Government plans to pay. The compensation was established by the Rome Agreement of 1983 between the then SFRY and Italy. At the end of July 1992, Slovenia resumed the exchange of notes with Italy on it.

The government said that at the end of last July our Finance Ministry asked the Italian Finance Ministry to inform Slovenia of the bank account number to which Slovenia may pay the remaining installments of the compensation envisaged by the provisions of the Rome Agreement.

The Italian Government has not yet sent the bank account number, so the Slovene Government yesterday decided to pay the installment into a special account in Luxembourg and inform both the Italian and international public about this.

It is also said in the public announcement that the government has issued today that the Slovene and Croatian prime ministers, Dr. Janez Drnovsek and Nikica Valentic, agreed that both governments should persist in regarding the Osimo Treaty and the Rome Agreement as valid and that Croatia will also service its part of the former SFRY's debt. By servicing its obligations, our country wishes to express clearly its resolve consistently to respect the validity of the Rome Agreement.

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Federal

UN Resolution Corrects Sanction 'Mistakes'

LD2409111394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1050 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] New York, Sept. 24 (TANJUG)—The United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution on the partial suspension of the sanctions against Yugoslavia early on Saturday morning. After more than two years of their introduction, the Security Council has begun to correct its mistakes and take a more balanced and objective stand on developments in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Votes in favor of the resolution came from 11 countries, Pakistan and Djibouti voted against the resolution, and Nigeria and Rwanda withheld their votes. The Security Council also adopted a resolution on tightening the sanctons against Bosnian Serbs with 14 votes in favor. China abstained from voting.

A resolution on "ethnic cleansing" in Serb-controled territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina was adopted unanimously. The resolution says that sanctions are suspended on "all civilian passenger flights to and from Belgrade airport carrying only passengers and personal effects and no cargo" unless authorized by the sanctions committee. The same rules apply to the opening of the ferry service between Bar in the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro and Bari in Italy.

Sanctions concerning participation in sporting events and cultural exchanges have also been suspended, but not those on scientific-technical cooperation.

The sanctions are suspended for a period of 100 days from the day following receipt of a report from U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali that the Yugoslav authorities are implementing their decision to close the border with Bosnian Serbs. Butrus-Ghali will be assured by reports from an international humanitarian mission that the border between Yugoslavia and Bosnian Serbs remains closed to all goods except foodstuffs, medical supplies and clothing for essential humanitarian needs.

The secretary general is to report every 30 days to the Security Council whether these measures are still in effect. In the event that the report says the Yugoslav authorities are not effectively implementing their decision to close the border, the present decision shall terminate on the fifth working day following the report of the secretary-general.

The Security Council "decides to keep the situation closely under review and to consider further steps with regard to measures applicable" to Yugoslavia and in the light of further progress in the situation, says the resolution. The resolution expresses support to the territorial integrity of all states in the territory of former Yugoslavia within their "internationally recognized borders." It welcomes the decision of the Yugoslav authorities to support the proposed territorial settlement for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the decision to close the "international border" between Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Security Council has asked the sanctions committee to step up issue of permits for imports of humanitarian goods to Yugoslavia.

The resolution on tightening sanctions against Bosnian Serbs lists many elements which are already in effect under earlier Security Council decisions, including the ban on economic cooperation and freezing of financial funds. The new sanctions include a ban on political cooperation and on travel abroad for members of the Bosnian Serb government and army. This also covers all other person who in any way provide support to the Bosnian Serb government, with the exception of humanitarian aid. Telecommunications, postal and telephone communications are still exempt from the sanctions.

The Security Council will consider measures adopted under this resolution every four months. The council is willing, however, to reconsider these measures if Bosnian Serbs accept the proposed territorial settlement unconditionally and in full.

The third resolution, backed by non-aligned countries, again condemns "ethnic cleansing" in Serb-controled areas of Bosnia and demands free access to these territories for the U.N. Protection Force and international observers.

Lilic Welcomes Sanctions Easing

LD2409142294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—The easing of the sanctions represents an important moment politically and economically for Yugoslavia, Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, said in a special press statement at a celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Automobile Association of Yugoslavia today.

He said the political importance of easing the sanctions lies in the fact that our country has finally been rewarded for pursuing a policy of peace, and economically because it will ease the flow of passengers and humanitarian deliveries, as well as enable our sportsmen and cultural workers to return to the international arena.

"Even though this day is very important, we will be really happy when the sanctions are completely lifted," Lilic stressed, adding that we are on the right road to achieving that.

Further Lilic Remarks

AU2409145894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 94

["Exclusive" statement by FRY President Zoran Lilic in Belgrade on 24 September—recorded]

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[Text] Well, [words indistinct]. I believe that we will truly be happy when the international community really does do everything to lift completely the sanctions that were unjustly introduced against the FRY. I am thoroughly convinced that this is a very important day in our recent history and that its significance will manifest itself in the ensuing period. I believe that we can truly call it a day of relief, our day of relief. This is not so only because the international community has made this one, first, and I am convinced, biggest step toward the total lifting of sanctions against the FRY. It is a day of relief primarily because we are happy that the international community, faced with two possible options, has chosen the peace option—the only option that can lead to the final resolution of the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia; the option that can lead toward the economic recovery of the FRY and the wider region; and finally, the option that will help to compensate in many ways for numerous injustices here and in all areas of the world where force is used in attempts to meddle in the internal affairs of any country.

The fact that we are moving toward the lifting of sanctions in air traffic, sea traffic, sports, and culture perhaps does not mean much to some people right now. I believe that we should all feel relieved that in the future we can return to our routine tasks and above all the reconstruction and economic revival of our country; that we return to [words indistinct] to improve the lives of our citizens. This should truly be a day of relief for all FRY citizens, at least that is how I see it.

Kontic Cited on Sanctions

LD2409160994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—Commenting on the UN Security Council decision to ease the sanctions, Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic told TANJUG that he had pointed out on several occasions that the maintenance of the sanctions against the FRY would be politically, legally, and morally unjustifiable and that we are rightly expecting the international community to admit its blunders and prejudices against our country and thus, to a certain point, regain its prestige and dignity.

I am convinced the main powerbrokers of the new international order are aware of this, as well as the main protagonists of the Geneva conference on Yugoslavia, Kontic said. "However, they all needed a pretext—I would say this was the severance of economic and political ties with the Srpska republic—which would, to the greatest possible extent, allow them to retain their honor and dignity. All the more so, as the Federal government had so far supported all the peace options that treated all the warring sides equally and that could bring about a just solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

In his statement, Kontic points out that war is not an alternative and that the international community has finally realized that not only does the FRY support the peace process, but it also is prepared to bear all the consequences needed to achieve that goal.

"However, even though I understand, to a certain extent, that the Security Council could not make a radical turnabout regarding the lifting of sanctions, I still have to be a little disappointed because it still does not understand the fact that lifting sanctions against the FRY is the biggest contribution to peace and stability in the region and, therefore, to the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. "I hope the Security Council will come to this conclusion soon," Kontic told TANJUG.

Jovanovic Hails Resolution

LD2409204494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1936 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Budapest, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic told TANJUG in Budapest this evening that the UN Security Council decision last night represented a logical and inevitable continuation of a long process in which our country affirmed and imposed itself as the most important peace broker in the region.

Even though the scope of this decision does not fully comply with Yugoslavia's role in the peace process, it has a great political and psychological significance because, first, it ends a very negative attitude toward our country and, second, it opens the process of dismantling these negative residues and should lead to a speedy lifting of the remaining sanctions, Jovanovic said on his way to New York where, together with his aides, he will attend the regular session of the UN General Assembly over the next two weeks.

According to Jovanovic, the most important aspect of the Security Council's latest decision is that the hardliners who want to enslave our country from now on will not be able to convincingly and constantly demand the further isolation for Yugoslavia.

On the contrary, their arguments have become immensely devalued, and I even believe that they will no longer be able to use them. The real advocates of a peaceful solution have been given wings by this decision and I believe that they will double their efforts, together with us, to ensure that the remaining sanctions are soon lifted, Jovanovic pointed out.

However, he said, it would be unwise to underestimate the opponents of the lifting of the sanctions, whose numbers are not small, although they have lately unmasked themselves and are becoming increasingly isolated in their wish to make Yugoslavia's isolation permanent.

This, Minister Jovanovic specified, was corroborated by the Muslim government's UN representative who had assessed with resignation that: It is all over and Bosnia

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has been betrayed—which in itself shows that the advocates of the war option have found themselves in an untenable position.

Due to the UN General Assembly's biased and unjust decision several years ago on the suspension of Yugoslavia from its work, the delegation will not be able to present our positions to this forum, which is common practice.

However, we will be able to realize this in numerous contacts with UN representatives and heads of a series of delegations, mostly European, including those from neighboring countries, but also with some Muslim delegations at their request, Jovanovic concluded.

Bulatovic on 'Economic Revival'

AU2409161594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Statement by FRY Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic in Belgrade on 24 September—recorded]

[Text] I believe that this decision was unexpected only for those who have advocated war and have been Yugoslavia's enemy all along, that is, over the past three years. For everyone else this decision is perfectly reasonable and anticipated.

This is the beginning of a new economic revival for the FRY. We hope that we will not have to wait long for the definitive decision to finally lift sanctions. It is doubtlessly very significant that the international factors have assessed positively FRY's contribution toward the restoration of a just peace over the territories of the former SFRY.

Further Bulatovic Reaction

AU2409193594 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Interview with FRY Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic by Dusan Cukic in Belgrade on 24 September—recorded]

[Text] [Cukic] Mr. Bulatovic, you are the minister of defense—a department that is always topical and intriguing in the world, especially when wars are involved. Ours is a country that is pursuing a defensive policy and advocating peace, and here we are, the triumph of peace on the territories of the FRY has finally won the recognition of the UN Security Council.

[Bulatovic] Yes, this is the beginning of recognition of the peace-promoting role of the FRY, that is, Serbia and Montenegro, in the resolution of a conflict that has emerged on the territory of the former SFRY. This beginning is significant for at least two reasons—a political and an economic one. Politically, because it represents recognition and affirmation of the policy pursed by the FRY leadership in foreign and internal affairs, and economically, because it gives impulse to the development of production and its capacities in the FRY. Finally, I would say that this beginning is also makes a certain contribution to the safety of the FRY, because a qualitatively new attitude toward our country has taken place by it, and thus, also toward the security in general.

[Cukic] Mr. Minister, until the very last moment the UN Security Council deliberated about the helicopters that allegedly transported arms from the FRY to other territories. Now that these speculations have been denied can you say anything about this for the domestic Yugoslav public?

[Bulatovic] You see, this was not the first speculation regarding the FRY. They have been, I daresay, legion. At the end of the day, it is precisely because of these speculations that we have suffered sanctions. This latest one was so flimsy that even UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and NATO had to tell the truth and state that they held no such notion or proof.

I do not believe that our public especially needs to be told that these were truly speculations and that there is not the slightest possibility that helicopters from this territory could be used in any way on the territory of the Serbian Republic.

Therefore, NATO and UNPROFOR finally had to admit it and this probably crucially influenced the commencement of easing of sanctions against us.

[Cukic] The lifting of the embargo surely also means liberation from the numerous lies with which we have been bombarded during the last two and a half years?

[Bulatovic] Definitely. I believe that the process of admitting mistakes will commence now. Naturally, we cannot expect this immediately because mistakes are not admitted easily. It is important, however, that the world demonstrates in practice and acknowledges that certain decisions were made on the basis of speculation and incorrect information.

Jovic on Sanctions Resolution

LD2509193794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1915 GMT 25 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Kragujevac, Yugoslavia, Sept. 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav official Borisav Jovic on Sunday said the decision on easing the anti-Yugoslav sanctions was an act of recognition of Yugoslavia's peaceful policy.

The United Nations Security Council decision was only the beginning of lifting the sanctions and a realistic move in view of the current balance of powers on the international scene, said Jovic. Jovic, who is chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Yugoslav Parliament and vice president of the governing Socialist Party of Serbia, said this in an interview with the Serbian Radio Kragujevac.

Commenting on the U.N. resolution on easing the anti-Yugoslav sanctions, which was opposed only by two

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Islamic countries, Jovic said that balance had been significantly redressed in Yugoslavia's favour as a result of its support to the "Contact Group" plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has backed the Contact Group plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina's territorial split and asked the Bosnian Serb leadership to accept it. After the Bosnian Serbs failed to do so, the Yugoslav authorities decided to break off all relations with the Bosnian Serb Republic and closed the Yugoslav border for all but humanitarian transports to the Bosnian Serbs.

In another interview with Radio Kragujevac, Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic said that the U.N. Security Council decision had been an act of recognition of Yugoslavia's principled policy. He said it had always been Serbia's and Yugoslavia's stand that peace in the Balkans depended on the equality of all constituent nations in the former Yugoslavia and in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the equality of Serbs, Croats and Muslims.

Their equality and the statehood of the Serbian people were seriously undermined by the early recognition of the so-called Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sainovic said.

He said Yugoslavia had urged that all nations be granted equal rights, which would have secured peace. Unfortunately, that was achieved only after a long time and many victims, he said. "The fact that the international community has in this way symbolically recognized that shows that we have been on the right track," said Sainovic.

Minister Raicevic Comments

LD2409135794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1329 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister without portfolio Tomica Raicevic Saturday welcomed the United Nations Security Council decision to ease the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Addressing an international summer course for meteorologists in the town of Krivaja near Backa Palanka in Serbia's Vojvodina Province, Raicevic said the decision was a clear indication and a confirmation of the consistency of Yugoslavia's policy of peace. It is evident that it was not possible to ignore the very important fact that the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro present the key factor of stability not only in the region, but outside it as well, Raicevic said.

The world meteorological organization is one of the few international organizations which never questioned Yugoslavia's membership. This has given Yugoslavia the possibility to host the largest international scientific meeting since the sanctions were introduced in May 1992, Raicevic said.

The course is being held from September 19-23. Representatives of 11 countries are taking part.

Deputy Minister on UN Resolution

LD2409115394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1130 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 24 (TANJUG)—The United Nations Security Council resolution on suspending sanctions against Yugoslavia is a good but delayed move, Yugoslav diplomatic sources said Saturday.

The move is encouraging, good, and expected, though made with a delay, they said. "The Security Council needed a long time to take a step which is small in comparison with the significant moves made by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," Deputy Yugoslav Foreign Minister Nikola Cicanovic said. "We believe the Security Council made a very important political decision, although in reality it represents the minimum—but, I would say, a significant minimum," Cicanovic said and added that this was a good start. "We hope that the Security Council will now start working even more resolutely towards a complete lifting of the sanctions, in order to put an end as soon as possible to the unjust international isolation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," Cicanovic said.

However, certain international factors have been making increasingly frequent attempts towards imposing on Yugoslavia new conditions for a complete lifting of the sanctions, he said. "We firmly reject all the attempts to relate the sanctions with certain other problems and issues regarding the overall crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia," Cicanovic said.

The sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro were introduced in May 1992, because of its alleged involvement in the civil war waged in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"We have fully repayed our obligations in line with the Security Council's resolution. That is why it is logical to expect that the sanctions be fully lifted," Cicanovic said. "We shall be able soon to gain insight into possible future moves by the Security Council and the U.N. through the activities of the Yugoslav delegation in New York during the General Assembly session," he said.

The Yugoslav delegation will be headed by Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic.

"We shall do everything possible to convince the international community that it is necessary to speed up the process of definitive and total lifting of the sanctions," he said. This is especially important since "it is one of the essential conditions for reaching peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," Cicanovic concluded.

Government Statement on 'Hostile' Albanian Campaign

LD2309153194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—The FRY Government has stated that the authorities in Tirana continue to

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wage their hostile campaign against the FRY. In a statement released today the government says:

"It is with concern that the FRY Government draws the attention of the world public to the dangerous continuation of Albania's hostile campaign against the FRY. This has also been borne out in a letter from Albanian President Sali Berisha to the heads of state and the governments of the member countries of the UN Security Council and the EU regarding the strained relations between Greece and Albania. In his address in Gjirokaster on 18 September the Albanian president repeated his unfounded and fabricated attacks on Serbia and the Serbian people, i.e. the FRY. In so doing President Berisha personally took part in the campaign waged by some members of his government who are fabricating accusations about an allegedly coordinated strategy of Greece and the FRY, aiming to increase tensions and destabilize the southern Balkans.

"In an obvious attempt to hush up and minimize Albania's responsibility for depriving the national minorities in Albania of their rights and violating human rights, President Berisha is attempting to lay the blame for Albania's bilateral dispute with Greece on the FRY, thus diverting attention from the real causes of the problem. This is also a matter of Albania attempting to discredit the FRY by way of unfounded accusations at a time when the international public has been increasingly appreciating the constructive efforts of the FRY and its contribution to a peaceful solution to the crisis in the area of the former SFRY and particularly to the civil war in ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Albania's discriminatory attitude toward ethnic minorities forms part of its wider undemocratic practice of violating basic human and civil rights. This is confirmed by a recent trial of members of the Greek ethnic minority, attempts at forceful eviction of dozens of Serb and Montenegrin families from the Vraka region, and stage-managed court trials of political opponents. By its policy of inteference in the internal affairs of the FRY and confrontation with almost all its neighbors Albania has been intensifying tensions in the region, thus threatening peace and stability in the Balkans.

"Albania has been constantly instigating secessionism among the Albanian ethnic minority in Kosovo and Metohija which is aimed at its secession from the Republic of Serbia, i.e. the FRY. This is best illustrated in the official and open support Albania gives to the non-existent 'republic of Kosovo,' its self-styled representatives, the opening of a permanent mission of the separatist leadership in Tirana, and the fomenting of border incidents. The strategy of greater Albanian nationalism and encouragement of separatism in Kosovo and Metohija, which particularly surfaced in President Berisha's address in Gjirokaster, are in direct contravention of the principles of the UN and CSCE Charters, and as such represent an extremely serious threat to peace and security in the Balkans.

"The FRY Government has on several occasions launched concrete initiatives for cooperation with Albania on the basis of noninterference and the observance of sovereignty and territorial integrity, believing this to be in the interest of the people in both countries and in the Balkans. Although the Albanian Government has not yet responded to these initiatives, the FRY remains resolute in its intention to contribute to the overcoming of the current situation in bilateral relations through direct dialogue. In this regard the FRY will continue resolutely to protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity, rejecting every attempt at interference in its internal affairs.

"The FRY is vitally interested in peace in the Balkans, in good-neighborly relations and multilateral Balkan cooperation, and in the strengthening of trust among the Balkan countries. This ought to be a real orientation pursued by all the countries in the Balkans, including Albania. The FRY considers this a precondition for the admission of the Balkans to the European democratic processes and cooperation."

Lilic Considers Contact Group Plan 'Good Basis'

AU2309163194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Report by Dragoljub Stankic and Radovan Pantovic]

[Excerpt] Greeted tumultuously by the citizens gathered in the culture center in Novi Pazar, Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, particularly stressed that the historic task of the generations that have been living in peace for five decades and the historic duty of the present day generation is to preserve peace for the future generations, not hatred, war, or destruction. In the last three years, the leaderships of Serbia and Yugoslavia have continuously been striving for peace and a just settlement of the conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to President Lilic, had the international community and certain extremists not made mistakes, this conflict would have never occurred.

[Begin Lilic recording] We do not consider the Contact Group plan to be ideal. We do not consider it the most just either. However, we do consider it to be a good basis for, above all, negotiations and the possible exchange of territories in peace through the direct bilateral contacts between the Serbian and Muslim sides. I think that this is the duty of both the Serb and Muslim leaders toward their people, if they care for it. I think this represents a duty and responsibility at the same time.

We perhaps do not have the right to interfere in the decisions of the sides in the conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose administrative borders were unfortunately declared by the international community as a state border, thus directly contributing to the outbreak of one of the most brutal civil wars in the history of Europe. You in this region have certainly felt the consequences of the war, too.

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I would also like to stress here in front of you that we do not have the right to allow the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to be drawn into the war. What is more, our duty is to prevent it with all available means, and we will, rest assured, do this.

There will be peace in the FRY, because only peace can ensure the normal development and creation of better living conditions for our citizens and those who will come after the war. We must ask ourselves the following, which I think is the best way to answer what is indeed good to do at this moment: What is in the interest of all citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia? Is this peace or war? Is this economic recovery or stagnation that existed in medieval times? Is this a higher standard of living or social (?misery)? Is this development and the building of the country that we spoke about today or is this tribulations, suffering, and devastation of primarily the weakest. I am deeply convinced that the answer to every one of these questions is simple and known to all of our citizens who are not blinded by national hatred, regardless of their nationality and religion.

Therefore, in the interest of all of us, as well as the FRY, we must fight against the extremists, regardless of their nationality, because solutions can only be found through cooperation, understanding, and cohabitation of all our citizens. This has been the case and this should remain so throughout our country. [end recording]

Prior to this, Zoran Lilic, president of the FRY, held talks with the Novi Pazar cultural and public workers in the assembly building. Greeting President Lilic on behalf of all citizens of Novi Pazar, Konstantin Jovanovic, president of the Novi Pazar municipality, said that the citizens of the Raska [Sandzak] region are following Yugoslavia's peace efforts regarding the Bosnian crisis with a great hope and expect the unjust sanctions to be lifted soon. Yugoslavia's peace efforts are best appreciated here, where the Serbs and Muslims live together, Jovanovic said.

Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic said that he did not expect the international community to reward Yugoslavia's peace policy, but to lift the unjust sanctions that have inflicted enormous damage not only to the present, but also the future generations. President Lilic promised that the state would help as much as it could.

[Begin Lilic recording] Our duty and our task is to preserve peace here. This is the only thing that can and must be done. Extremists of all colors, regardless of whether they are of Muslim nationality or members of the Serbian community, whether they are members of any other community, must be eliminated through joint efforts and prevented in their actions. When I said eliminated, I meant that their place is not among these people. They can do that somewhere else, they can realize their political ideas and aims in other places, but they will not be allowed and they will not be able to do so on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I think that cohabitation is the only possible way. After all, this has been the case and this will have to be in the future; this will have to remain. [end recording]

President Lilic also visited the Raska textile combine. He was briefed on the firm's business successes and met with Novi Pazar businessmen. During the talks, he was told, among other things, that the Novi Pazar economy represents a great potential. Before the sanctions were introduced, the region was earing $30-40 miilion a year. Novi Pazar during that time was exporting four times more than importing. As stressed, exports have not stopped under the sanctions either. Owing to the well-known circumstances, exports have significantly been reduced but have remained and a decent level and business relations with foreign partners have been preserved.

Enes Corovic, director of the Raska textile combine, stressed that his factory is even now working in three shifts and that there have been no compulsory vacations during the sanctions. [passage omitted]

Bank President: Economic Program Doing Well

AU2509215994 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Telephone interview with Dr. Dragoslav Avramovic, governor of the FRY National Bank, by Dusko Petrovic in Geneva; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Avramovic] The most important thing is that we have maintained complete stability parallel with the increase in production. This is a very rare case of stabilization in the world. It is rare that such an increase in revenue is accomplished. The increase in revenue is not sufficient in all spheres and that is why we are now about to enter into the second phase, you know, divide it more justly so that those at the bottom of our society—retirees and low-income earners—get something, too. At the same time we must invent a mechanism that currently does not exist. Many things here are based on computer projections—I have no idea who invented this—so that salaries are bracketed and salaries are sometimes, and at certain levels, running ahead of production.

I was surprised that industrial production in August increased some 7 to 8 percent—per month, that is; these are not annual figures.

As regards panic on the market and people being nervous about prices: First, prices have only increased 1.4 percent since the beginning of the reform, which is negligible. Second, as regards a certain nervousness, well, our economy is booming, you know.

[Petrovic] The public is a little anxious because of increases in some prices and pressure on the dinar exchange rate. Would you comment on this? Is there any money being issued without proper reserves?

[Avramovic] No, sir! This does not exist. The National Bank is not financing the state. There is no problem. The money that goes into the economy will come back

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together with goods. Therefore, what is currently being invested in expansion will yield more goods and prices will, therefore, remain stable. In the economy, two and two is four.

[Petrovic] Are we speaking of a political and psychological attack on the program and creation of political and psychological inflation?

[Avramovic] People with a negative attitude toward this program have been around since the very beginning. They predict its failure daily, all the time. This is a characteristic of public opinion that I find awfully difficult to comprehend. Why should people want this? At the same time they write about it, so they say, because they are afraid that everything will collapse. Well, if they are afraid that everything will fall apart then they should not profess all over the place that everything is inconsistent and that certain things are bound to happen when nothing is happening at all. Why should things go wrong when we have made the transition from a catastrophic situation to the current situation. Why should it fall apart now?

[Petrovic] Finally, what is your message to the Yugoslav public?

[Avramovic] I would like everyone to go about their usual business because their is no reason for panic. I am an optimist as regards our future development, especially if we are to maintain more or less the same production and growth that we have realized so far. We will be on top then. [end recording]

Serbia

Officials Cited on UN Security Council Decision

LD2409191794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 24 (TANJUG)—Serbian Premier Mirko Marjanovic said Saturday that the easing of sanctions against Yugoslavia proved Yugoslavia's truly peaceful policy of solving Balkan conflicts. The decision of the U.N. Security Council to ease the sanctions showed that Serbia is the basic factor of peace and stability in this region, Marjanovic told the Serbian television network. He said that "this entirely and continuously demonstrates the accuracy of the policy of our country and of President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic."

Serbian Vice Premier Svetozar Krstic said the easing of sanctions against Yugoslavia "undoubtedly accounted for a formal change in the world community's policy toward our country and the crisis in former Yugoslavia." Krstic said the prerequisites for just peace and solution in Bosnia were afforded by recognizing the right to the Bosnian Serb republic to confederate with Yugoslavva.

Milutin Stojkovic, a senior official of the Serbian province of Vojvodina, said the suspension of some of the sanctions was an early signal that all the sanctions would be lifted before long.

Mihajlo Milojevic, president of the Yugoslav Chamber of the Economy, said the easing of sanctions meant the triumph of good reason and forces of peace and now a relaxation might be expected also in economic and business contacts.

Further Comment by Marjanovic

AU2409201594 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 Sep 94

["Exclusive" statement by Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic to reporter Dusan Cukic in Belgrade on 24 September—recorded]

[Text] [Marjanovic] We anticipated this UN Security Council decision. I think that the UN Security Council passed the correct decision. Once again this proves that this country, Yugoslavia and Serbia, is pursuing the correct peace-loving policy for the resolution of the entire conflict in the Balkans and at the same time demonstrates that Serbia is the key factor of peace and stability in this region. I must also emphasize that this decision entirely and continuously proves the correctness of the policy of our country and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

On the other hand this is also the beginning of the reintegration of our country into Europe and the world, the comeback that we have earned and that was never open to question but was merely a matter of time. The time ahead of us will prove this. Our economic recovery and the program which we set to ourselves and that we are fulfilling will gain in proportion and we expect that the future of our country will be better. What we are doing now and the policy that we are pursuing must yield results, and they are already showing in the decisions of the UN Security Council.

[Cukic] What would you as a businessman recommend to successful businessmen and all those who have dozed off a bit?

[Marjanovic] We must not lose the ground under our feet for a single moment. We must work diligently to realize the economic recovery program in the best possible way. I believe that we will succeed. This is a new step that gives us new wings and additional incentive and shows that we are on the right track. I believe that we will succeed in our intentions, which is to join international (?trade) as soon as possible.

Milosevic Policy Justified

AU2509200094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Statement by Speaker of Vojvodina Assembly Milutin Stojkovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] With the suspension of sanctions against the states of Serbia and Yugoslavia the world has finally realized what a mistake it made by introducing sanctions that

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have no precedent in the history of mankind, the genocidal sanctions that devastated everything—economy, science, culture, sports, health, and worst of all, the souls of honorable, decent, and diligent people. However, we did not kneel, we survived. We preserved our state and our people no matter where they live. We preserved peace, economy, and our pride. Now we can go forth proudly, with our head held high and looking everybody straight in the eye, because we have proven that we are not the state or people that we have been portrayed to be in the world.

This is our victory, the Pyhrric victory that is pure as snow, the triumph of peace over war. The world required two and a half years to realize that Serbia favors peace and equal treatment of all sides in the conflict. Finally, the wise policy of our genial President Slobodan Milosevic has been justified.

I am deeply convinced that all sanctions will be abolished soon and that Serbia and Yugoslavia will quickly permeate all the pores of the European and international community—where we have earned a place with our many qualities.

I am sincerely happy and proud that I live in Serbia and that with my work I have made a modest contribution to all this by explaining the real truth about us and our state, the most beautiful state in the world—Serbia.

Assembly Speaker Reacts

AU2509200194 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Interview with Dragan Tomic, speaker of the Peoples' Assembly of Serbia, by Mirjana Jevtic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Jevtic] Mr. Tomic, please comment on the UN Security Council decision to abolish package of sanctions against the FRY for tonight's edition of the Radio and Television Serbia newscast.

[Tomic] Everything is clear, however, I can say the following. First of all, this decision represents international support for the policy of peace pursued by Yugoslavia in this region. This is extremely significant. Second, this decision represents the first step in the process of Yugoslavia's overcoming international isolation and marks the beginning of the abolition of sanctions. The first step is always of enormous importance and the abolition of sanctions will be next. Third, I believe that, without doubt, this decision endorses the policy of peace and Yugoslavia's importance for stability and peace in the Balkans.

[Jevtic] Thank you very much.

Parties Welcome Decision

LD2409204294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2011 GMT 24 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 24 (TANJUG)—Serbia's governing party on Saturday welcomed the United Nations Security Council decision to suspend some of the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

This is a first step in the recognition of the policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia since the outbreak of the crisis, the Socialist Party of Serbia said in a statement signed by its secretary-general Milomir Minic.

The New Democracy Party, the minority partner of the socialists in the Serbian Government, said on Saturday that the easing of the sanctions was a major stimulus for the population and the political parties opting for peace.

New Democracy has stood on the position that all problems should be dealt with by political means and "has opposed the protagonists of unreasonable policy and war," the party said in a statement.

The opposition Democratic Party welcomed the U.N. decision to ease the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro "although it is a symbolic political move which does not solve the real problems." The party said there were no grounds for further maintaining the sanctions and proposed that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia demand the revoking of United Nations Security Council Resolution 820.

The resolution was adopted in April 1993 to tighten the sanctions, banning transit through Yugoslavia and freezing Yugoslavia's assets abroad.

The Democratic Party said that the Security Council resolution imposing new sanctions on the Bosnian Serb Republic was a "step further away from peace" which may lead to an escalation of the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The opposition Democratic Party of Serbia voiced a negative view of the latest United Nations resolution because they "rewarded one and punished another part of the same, Serbian, people."

Serbia's Association for the United Nations, a nongovernmental organization for promoting the goals of the U.N. Charter, welcomed the resolution on easing the sanctions against Yugoslavia. "The association expects an urgent and unconditional lifting of all forms of sanctions and a full reintegration of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations and other international organizations," it said in a statement.

Owen, Stoltenberg To Meet Milosevic 27 Sep

LD2609113694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1113 GMT 26 Sep 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen, cochairmen of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia, will arrive in Belgrade this evening, it has been learned in diplomatic circles in Belgrade.

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Diplomatic circles in Geneva have also announced the cochairmen's visit to Belgrade. The same sources have reported that Stoltenberg and Lord Owen will be received by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, most probably tomorrow. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Prime Minister on Easing of UN Sanctions

LD2409161094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1522 GMT 24 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 24 (TANJUG)—Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Djukanovic said Saturday the easing of sanctions against Yugoslavia was the beginning of a turnabout in U.N. policy toward Yugoslavia. "The truth we have long been awaiting has at long last been reaffirmed on the part of the international community, too," said Djukanovic to reporters.

He said the soon reopening of the Bar-Bari ferry line was economically significant for both Montenegro and Yugoslavia as a whole. He also said Yugoslav athletes would shortly return to the world scene and cultural workers would renew their ties abroad, setting the stage for the gradual abolition of the remaining sanctions.

Kosovo

Rugova Interviewed on Serb Repression, 'Kosova'

AU2409205294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Report on interview with Kosova Republic President Ibrahim Rugova by unidentified ATA correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] In an interview with the ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY [ATA], President Ibrahim Rugova spoke about the escalation of repression and terror in Kosova, efforts to avoid the conflict and ensure international protection in Kosova, Greek efforts to destabilize the Balkan region regarding Albania and Albanians, global Albanian policy, the idea of Kosovar confederal ties with Albania, the solution to the Albanian question in all ethnic territories in the former Yugoslavia, elections in the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK], and other current issues.

Responding to a question on the demand to have international protection for Kosova and the precise international reaction to this demand, President Rugova said that this idea has been considered at an international level and the possibilities on how to apply this and act in this direction are being examined.

Dr. Rugova clarified that a protectorate or civil administration is not a final aim, but only a legal expedient of international right, based on the UN Charter to calm a region or a territory such as Kosova, so that a solution avoiding war and conflict can be found. This contributes toward achieving independence, something the people of Kosova declared they favor at a referendum held at the end of September 1991. The referendum has both Albanian and nationwide importance as the only declarative act of the people of Kosova. After it, referendums in other Albanian territories followed. There followed also free multiparty elections as an implementation of the power that derives from this referendum and the general situation in Kosova. The referendum is an act that further affirms the Kosova issue and guarantees the independence of Kosova now and in the future. President Rugova said that through this referendum, for the first time the Albanians of Kosova and of all other Albanian territories in the former Yugoslavia declared their global interests to the international public, because Albanians have never had the chance to express themselves.

Referring to confederal ties with Albania, President Rugova expressed his pleasure regarding the favorable reaction this idea has had in the international community. Such an idea, Dr. Rugova said, would facilitate a solution to the Kosova question. If confederal ties are legalized, at present between the Bosnian Serbs and Serbia, then such a thing should by all means be legalized for Albanians as well.

In his interview with the ATA, President Rugova spoke about the Greek efforts to destabilize the region. By bringing up problems with Albania, Greece wants, among other things, to diminish the Kosova issue, and in a way, to help Serbia at this level. However, President Rugova said, Greece is not right. A small Greek minority community lives in Albania, which even before enjoyed a series of rights, just like all the Albanian citizens.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova stated in his interview with ATA that today, after democratic changes, all these rights are somewhat more advanced and will continue to be so, as realized and promised by the Albanian Government and President Berisha.

Vojvodina

Leader Views Exile of Vojvodina Croats

AU2209195594 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 94 pp 8-9

[Interview with Bela Tonkovic, president of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats, by Mile Alilovic "in a southern Croatian resort;" date not given: "37,000 Croats Exiled in Three Years"]

[Text] *Bela Tonkovic, president of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats, is the founder of the only Croatian party in the so-called FRY. While he was on holiday in a southern Croatian resort, he agreed to give us an interview and to talk about the position of Croats in Vojvodina.*

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[Tonkovic] Let me start by explaining the situation before the so-called yogurt revolution [refers to demonstration by Serbs who threw yogurt at the Vojvodinan leaders leading to the suspension of Vojvodinan autonomy within Serbia], for we—the Croats in Vojvodina—had hardly any rights in the first, and especially in the second Yugoslavia: We did not have Croat schools, media, or cultural institutions. The Catholic Church was the only institution that held us together. However, we lived in the same country with other Croats, so our young people often went to study in Croatia. We could listen to Croatian radio stations, we could buy Croatian newspapers, and this was compensation to some extent. Today, that kind of compensation is impossible, apart from listening to Croatian radio in secret, for both Baranja and eastern Slavonia have been occupied. Immediately after the so-called yogurt revolution, they started persecuting the Croats in Vojvodina. This persecution gained momentum in 1991 and 1992, during the Serbian aggression against Croatia. People started disappearing and were even executed in public. An entire family, the Oskomics, were killed in the village of Kukujevci. We know exactly who killed them; their killers even boast about their "act of courage" in the media, and the police turned a blind eye to it. A Croat was killed in Hrtkovci, another one, a sacristan, in a village in Backa; and a Croatian priest was killed in Senta just a couple of days ago. The efforts by the Serbian authorities to repair damaged Catholic churches—only those which stand out and are visited by representatives of the international public, such as the one in Subotica—are sheer hypocrisy.

The World Knows Everything

[Alilovic] Have you informed any international protagonists, any representatives of Europe, the United States, the United Nations, or the public of all this?

[Tonkovic] They cannot say that they did not know. I have personally submitted documentation on this to the central office of Helsinki Watch in New York and to other relevant institutions in the world. I took part in all the conferences on the former Yugoslavia from the one in Helsinki to the one in London. Mr. Ahrens, head of the task force on protecting human rights and minorities, has complete documentation on what we have been going through. They have done nothing about it, or almost nothing.

[Alilovic] The long and the short of it is that Croats are leaving Vojvodina in droves.

[Tonkovic] Actually, the Croats are being expelled, and not only from Vojvodina, but from all areas of the so-called FRY. From 1991 onwards, 37,000 Croats have fled Vojvodina, mostly from Srijem, for the situation for the Croats there was the worst. Quite a few Croats moved out of western Backa. We have reliable information that Croats are being exiled from Belgrade, Kosovo, and Boka Kotorska. One of the most drastic cases is the ruling of the Constitutional Court of Montenegro, which said that Croatian employees of Tivat Radio had to return to work. However, the Chetniks subsequently seized and closed down the radio station. You cannot expect these extremists to respect others when they do not even respect the rulings of their own Constitutional Court.

[Alilovic] Subotica once had a Croatian majority. What is the situation today, has there been a mass exodus of Croats, considering that, together with the Hungarians, the Croats constitute the municipal authorities?

[Tonkovic] In 1918, 72 percent of the population of Subotica was Croatian. Subotica once had a higher percentage of Croats than Zagreb! Now the Croatian population has been reduced to 30 percent. People have left Subotica in this war, although in smaller numbers than in other towns. I am not claiming that all who left did so under coercion. Their excuse was the bleak prospects, but in my opinion, those people were incapable of building a better future for themselves or taking part in community activities designed to provide a better defense for ourselves. But we do not judge those people; every person knows what is best for himself or herself and they must all live with their consciences.

See Which Way the Wind Blows

[Alilovic] There have been some attempts to break the Vojvodina Croats by forcing them not to declare themselves as Croats at the census.

[Tonkovic] This is a well-known method in dictatorships. An attempt was made to divide the Croats in Vojvodina, especially on the eve of the 1991 census, into Bunjevci and Sokci [according to their place of origin], thus trying to divest us of Croatian characteristics. They applied the method of the Hungarian chauvinists of 1846, who promised more privileges to those who refrained from saying that they were Croats. Some fell for this, but they got none of what was promised them. So, this time as well, under coercion or under false pretenses, some Subotica Croats said that they were Bunjevci or Sokci. Some sort of Bunjevac-Sokci party was established, which the media promoted on the eve of the 1993 elections, but it only got 300 votes in the elections, which is insignificant considering the total number of votes. The party was at that time just a branch office of the Socialist Party of Serbia and now it has joined the Serbian Radical Party of Vojslav Seselj, who is a Serbianized Croat. Furthermore, there is a small group of Croats consisting of former members of the Ministry of the Interior, former officers of the Yugoslav People's Army, and former members of the Federation of War Veterans' Organizations from the 8th Vojvodina Brigade, which participated in the events in Bleiburg. Both parties have already failed, for people realized who they really were and proceeded to ignore them. It is paradoxical that almost all members of those parties are Croatian citizens. They declare themselves as Croats but keep working against Croatian interests and help the official

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regime in Vojvodina. We call them see-which-way-the-wind- blows party members.

[Alilovic] The Croats in Vojvodina and throughout the so-called FRY are the only minority which has no rights, no citizenship, no nationality, and no ethnic group. It is as if they did not exist.

[Tonkovic] Yes, as if we did not exist, although in the so-called FRY, there still live about 180,000 Croats. This June Margit Sabovic, the federal minister for protecting human rights and national minorities (a Hungarian from Hungary who married a Montenegrin, and who reliable sources say is not a citizen of the country in which she holds a ministerial function) said that the Croats are not even a minority, and that, therefore, they cannot be treated as a nationality. After that statement, I urged the Serbs in Croatia, particularly Milan Djukic [leader of Serbian party in Croatia], to commit themselves on this "gem of a statement" by Minister Sabovic and on the persecution of the Croats in the so- called FRY in general, but I received no reply. Let me use this opportunity to ask Mr. Djukic to give me a reply.

Greater Serbian Civic Alliance

[Alilovic] Do all the Serbian parties treat the Croats living in the so-called FRY in the same manner, or are there some differences?

[Tonkovic] All the Serbian parties are involved in creating an ethnically pure greater Serbia, and there are no exceptions. Not a single party has a program for minorities, as they do not count on having any other nation in their ideal state. Two months ago, the Reformist Party (former party of Ante Markovic [SFRY prime minister in 1990]) attempted to create a program and a bill on minorities, but it all came to nothing.

[Alilovic] Do you believe in the present "rift" between Milosevic and Karadzic?

[Tonkovic] I am convinced it is just a show. All the opposition parties in Serbia, including the Civic Alliance of Serbia [GS] fronted by Vesna Pesic, whom some people abroad believe to be the embodiment of democracy, are condemning Milosevic. The much- vaunted GS has issued a manifesto in which they say that they cannot support policies that do not help the Serbs in Bosnia. Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia is supporting the boss, for the script of the great show demands this in order to get the sanctions lifted and have a greater Serbia.

Croatia Must Be Strong

[Alilovic] Considering the politics of the Serbian parties, can you comment on statements by some leaders in Croatia that one can nevertheless believe in Milosevic's turnaround in relations toward Karadzic and Bosnia?

[Tonkovic] I would not like to comment on any individual statements, but I want to say that we must not be naive. Those who believe in the rift between Milosevic and Karadzic should remember hundreds of statements released by the Serbian side about peace and cease-fires, their signatures confirming those cease-fires, and how things became even worse after them. Serbian imperialists will stoop to all kind of deception, tricks, and crimes in order to promote the idea and creation of a greater Serbia. Let me give you a dramatic example. Before the beginning of World War II, the Cvetkovic-Macek government concluded a concordat with the Vatican. However, the night before ratifying the concordat in the Belgrade parliament, the Serbian patriarch suddenly died. He was poisoned, and nobody has ever bothered to provide evidence to the contrary. Their intention was to provoke an emotional reaction (the patriarch died because he did not agree with the concordat) in order to prevent its ratification. And that is what happened—the concordat was never ratified. Consequently, advocates of greater Serbia are prepared to kill one another if it serves the interests of all Serbs.

[Alilovic] Within the framework of all those events, my question is what must Croatia and the Croats in general do now?

[Tonkovic] Everybody respects the strong and nobody respects the weak! There is particularly scanty respect for those who keep monitoring what others think about them and act accordingly. Croatia is a state on its own, it has democratic institutions, a democratic constitution, and democratic laws. That Constitution and those laws must be consistently enforced and amended if necessary, but in a democratic manner. Croatia must be strengthened from within. When its democracy becomes even stronger, when it becomes economically and militarily stronger, and when everything that disturbs the unity of the Croats, both in the country and among emigrants, is eliminated, Croatia will not have to care about everything that others think, say, or advise. The international protagonists do not care about Croatian interests, but about their own, and if those interests overlap, they will support them. However, whether they overlap or not, Croatia must represent its own interests regardless of what others say or do.

Hungarian Minority Forms Election Alliance

LD2309120894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] Several influential organizations have formed an election alliance in Vojvodina. The ultimate goal of the alliance is for the Hungarians living in the Yugoslav region to be act in a united way in the federal, republican, and local elections and to ensure that the Hungarian vote is not dissipated.

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